



Daily Report

Latin America

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Cuba

Castro Speaks at Spare Parts Forum 16 Dec

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[Speech by President Fidel Castro at the closing session of the Sixth National Spare Parts, Equipment, and Advanced Technologies Forum at the Palace of Conventions in Havana on 16 December—recorded]

[Text] Dear Comrades:

The mere fact that in the period of only one year, more than 34,000 papers and more than 40,000 solutions have been presented at this forum gives an idea of the strength and importance of this movement. In many conversations with well-known figures, visitors, and reporters, I have given this as an example of what it means to have a human anthill at work, what it means to have hundreds of thousands of Cubans—including skilled workers, technicians, engineers, researchers, and workers in general, including a housewife—working, devoting their time and intelligence to solving the country's problems at the most difficult times.

I think that those of us who have had the chance to participate, even if only in part of this event, have taken away an unforgettable impression. As I said before, it is not possible to get an idea of what has been done by simply listening to what has been said here, because we all know that this is only an insignificant part of what has been done. There is a large group of comrades who have received recognition for significant work. There is an even larger group of comrades who have received other kinds of recognition, mentions, or certificates throughout this event. We could say that there are thousands, tens of thousands, who deserve this recognition, but those hundreds of thousands who in one way or another have participated in this award-winning work also deserve it.

Someone has said that it is difficult to imagine any other nation in the world making an intellectual and creative effort like this one. It is unlikely that any other country would have accumulated in such a short time such a large and competent contingent of men and women who are capable of carrying out work like this. This cannot even be imagined under capitalism. In the first place, it would be inconceivable to reach the level of cooperation that has been reached in our country through this movement.

I would say that this is doing socialism, and doing socialism correctly. I would say that this is doing socialism as socialism should be done. I would say that this is the real proof of socialism's superiority over any other social system, because what we would find in any capitalist country would be enormous selfishness, fierce competition, insatiable vanity, and an excessive desire for resources, money, and wealth. As the housewife comrade said, she did not do this for any amount of money. But what she has asserted could have come out

from the lips of each and every one of those who have participated in this forum, of each and every one of those who have worked to help their nation and the revolution the way you have.

What money could you be paid with? How much would any of the innovations or inventions or research presented here be worth? What other social system could obtain a similar attitude from men and women? Could capitalism? I think that if socialism had done this everywhere, we would not be undergoing the bitter experiences we are undergoing now. Because one of socialism's problems was that it fell behind from the scientific and technical point of view. It is not that they neglected research. They invested a lot of money in research of all kinds, and they achieved great success.

Among their achievements, some became a reality, because I think the feats performed by the Soviet Union since World War II, when it was left totally destroyed, and then mastered nuclear weapons in a few years, in one fifth of the time imperialism imagined it would take.... [changes thought] They mastered the cosmos. They reached nuclear parity with the United States, which did not lose a single screw in World War II, which accumulated all the world's gold in that war, and which had the most industrialized part of the world as its ally. The fact that the Soviet Union reached nuclear parity with the United States in spite of these circumstances shows an extraordinary achievement of science, and a correct application of science in a vital, decisive sphere, of course.

But if the Soviet Union had been able to follow that same policy and apply it in all fields, if it had been able to put its immense talents to solving all the country's problems, there is no doubt that in spite of all the enormous advantages with which the United States began the race in the Cold War years, the Soviet Union would not have lost that race, from the technological point of view.

I do not mention the other socialist countries, which did not have the Soviet Union's possibilities. Many results of the research by the Soviet Union's centers later became, after being patented, technologies the developed capitalist countries used, which were not used in the Soviet Union itself. Of course, there are political problems, because the issue of science and technology is the most important thing in the policy of any government, whether capitalist or socialist. From my point of view, the issue of the application of science and technology to the economy, to production, was simply forgotten. It did not receive all the attention it should have.

There are whole areas that fell behind; for example, electronics, computers—I am referring to the use of this equipment in civilian life, in production—and automation. That is why when reforms were proposed in the Soviet Union, some of the proposals were absolutely unobjectionable, such as when it was stated that the extensive growth of the economy should be stopped in order to boost intensive growth; that is, the possibilities

for new developments. Enormous development had been achieved, that cannot be denied. A country that produces 630 million tons of oil has achieved great development in energy production; a country that produces, shall we say, 700 billion cubic meters of natural gas—that is equivalent to 700 million tons of oil in addition to the 630 million tons—a country that was able to build great hydroelectric and thermoelectric projects, and not only thermoelectric plants, but nuclear power plants; a country that built thousands and tens of thousands of km of gas pipelines and oil pipelines; a country that produces more than 140 million tons of cement and more than 150 million tons of steel; a country that was capable of building what the Soviet Union has built after having been destroyed twice in 25 years, has achieved a great historic feat. That cannot be questioned.

But when they proposed the need for growth based on intensifying the economy, the intensive rather than extensive development of the economy, and the accelerated application of the achievements of science and technology, that was an unobjectionable proposal. Of course, in those days no one was talking about market economies or capitalism, or any of those concepts and ideas that make up today's tragedy in the Soviet Union. But that proposal about the accelerated application of the achievement of science and technology is one of the clearest things that could have been proposed.

We ourselves saw it in Soviet equipment, and we are familiar with Soviet equipment. We know all of the trucks, and we could say that we worked with Soviet equipment. We did many things with Soviet equipment, in agriculture with Soviet tractors, in construction with Soviet construction equipment. We know that equipment well, and we can say that at least it worked. It is strong equipment, but it uses a tremendous amount of fuel, without a doubt. A Zil-130 really is ruinous. A truck that gets eight or seven km per gallon is ruinous. It needs a fuel pipeline attached to it. A Giron-6 that gets seven or six km per gallon—it could be called Giron-6 because it gets six km per gallon, but we have thousands of them in this country—is ruinous.

This is a technological deficiency, a technical deficiency. A vehicle, an engine that could be made three times with less steel, or an engine that has three times less steel than it could have, is ruinous. A passenger airplane that uses twice the amount of fuel than it should is ruinous. The Soviet planes are safe, because I have flown in them for a long time, but those planes use an enormous amount of fuel. This is technological backwardness. Sometimes technological backwardness also has an impact in the military sphere. A plane with a flying range of 500 km is not the same as a plane with a flying range of 200 or 150 km, however good the plane may be.

So there was obvious delay in applying the achievements of science and technology. These were achievements that had been obtained in the research centers in the Soviet Union or in other countries. This had a tremendous influence, because this influences labor productivity.

The same could apply to other fields, not only industry: the mechanical industry, light industry, or the food industry. These are areas that can be developed quickly. Of course, the great achievements in producing materials, energy, and fuel were wasted to a considerable degree as a result of this backwardness in the application of the achievements of science and technology.

This is not the right time for a historical analysis of these mistakes. When one sees the amount of fuel a Zil-130 uses, one sometimes has the impression that there is no gasoline shortage and it must be discarded, and that it was necessary to invent some engines to waste gasoline because there was no market for that gasoline. It was not a basic, priority concern.

This is why I say that when reforms were being discussed, the principle that they must be based on the application of these achievements was, in my view, unobjectionable. I am not going to discuss political issues now. I am discussing issues of a technical nature, because what we have been discussing and debating here is connected with the accelerated application of science and technology.

Of course, at the start of the revolution, we could not even dream about what we have had here, an event like this. It can be said that we wasted time. It can be said that for a time our research centers were a kind of hobby. It could be said that the craze for degrees and doctorates and all that, or doctoral candidates, was created, for some time. Perhaps we were sure that everything was going to come from outside. Perhaps we were sure that everything was going to come from the Soviet Union.

Thousands of our fellow countrymen invested their energy and time in writing theses for scientific degrees, often without taking into account whether those scientific degrees had anything to do with our problems and our needs, without taking into account whether those scientific degrees were going to contribute resources to the country to solve the country's problems or contribute income in hard currency to the country. Scientific degrees multiplied, and we copied this, when all the thinking of our technicians, engineers, and scientists should have been devoted from the beginning to solving the country's problems and finding resources for the country.

We should not underrate scientific degrees, but I think we could even have thought of other ways of obtaining degrees or scientific qualifications. Because we have an example from the field of medicine, where there is a path based on specialties, and specialists in the first, second, and third degree. They are in one specialty or another. We did not follow that path of copying. In science we did copy, and we even copied that bit about doctoral candidates. No one knows what a doctoral candidate is. Any doctoral candidates who may be here—and surely there are a few—must forgive me. [chuckles] That is not what we are looking at today, nor is that what any of you are thinking of. I have not heard any doctoral candidate or

doctor mentioned here today. I have heard about workers, technicians, researchers, innovators, and efficiency experts. We could have adopted our own forms for the improvement and qualification of our scientists, technicians, and researchers.

So time was wasted, without a doubt. We have been rectifying this for some time. I would say for 10 years. We have been taking measures in the science sector. We have been following a different policy. There was a time when the best talents did not go to the scientific centers. The students with the best university records did not go there. Science was so underrated that often when a place could not be found for a university graduate, he was sent to a research center. That is why it was then necessary to set up a suitability process and a number of measures. Really, those who have the best prospects, the best potential, should go to the research centers.

This is what we are doing today. We are not only doing this, we are trying to form a reserve of scientists. We continue to have graduates in biology. We continue to have graduates in a number of specialties, and we propose creating a reserve of scientific personnel. We are not going to wait to build the centers before we train the personnel, because we are now building research centers at a rapid pace. We are building high technology centers at a rapid pace. But we do not have to wait until everything is completed before we select the personnel. This is why, beside every scientist we want to have another scientist. Since the rectification process, which began earlier in science, a tremendous boost has been given to scientific research.

This is matter of policy, and abandoning or forgetting science is a mistake that can be made just as easily by a capitalist country—and many have made it—as by a socialist country. Fortunately, from the earliest moments of the revolution, we realized the importance of science. But we did not have scientists. We organized research centers from the earliest times of the revolution, but we did not have enough qualified personnel, and we did not have clear enough ideas about how the scientific centers ought to work. These distortions I was speaking about before occurred. It seemed that the scientific centers existed for granting degrees, doctorates. So there was this mixture of clear ideas, clear concepts, about the importance of science, and deficiencies and mistakes in applying this principle as a fundamental issue in development.

I believe something more: that the idea of science is implicit in the essence of Marxism-Leninism. Marx's thinking is almost inconceivable if it is not associated with science, because Marx even conceives of socialism not in the Third World countries, the underdeveloped countries, but rather in the most advanced countries, the countries that had reached the highest labor productivity. He saw in science the possibility of obtaining unlimited resources. He saw that at that time the Marxists argued with the Malthusians, because the Malthusians said that natural resources were insufficient. The

Marxists said that it was a social problem, that the social system was what was preventing wealth from existing in sufficient amounts to meet the needs of the entire population.

Today we must say that Malthus was partly right, when development was capitalist. The capitalists' development deformed society. They advanced towards what today is the consumer society, a fabulous squandering of natural resources, fuel resources, mineral resources, land resources, and environmental destruction. The enormous harm capitalism has done to humanity includes not only the Third World, the underdeveloped world, not only the thousands and thousands of people who live in poverty in the Third World. This poverty is growing. It is getting bigger and bigger.

It has not only done that harm, but it has caused the deterioration of nature. It has destroyed the environment. There are very serious problems. They have neglected the forests. They have neglected the soil. They have polluted the oceans, rivers, and atmosphere. There are the problems with the ozone layer. There are the problems with the greenhouse effect, which many scientists are saying is now irreversible. This is the phenomenon of the warming of the earth because of excessive consumption of fossil fuels. In only 100 years, capitalism has exhausted most of the fossil fuels that existed, most of the coal, most of the oil.

Someday humanity will have to remember with horror these 100 years of capitalist development and what it has done to nature, and how they have poisoned everything, and how they have created this situation in which the deserts are expanding, and the forests are disappearing. You can see that the surface area is decreasing, the land is becoming saline, and natural resources are becoming scarce. In this regard, we must say that Malthus was right. However, Marx believed in science.

Without a doubt, the scientific development of human society would have avoided many of these calamities we are suffering from today. It would have preserved the environment. The environment can be preserved. New resources would have been found through science, without destroying nature. A good example is the new form of energy: nuclear energy. Of course, progress has been made in nuclear energy. The energy of the atom was discovered, but how has the energy of the atom been used up to now? Mainly to make weapons, or to build nuclear power plants.

I think humanity cannot avoid a period of building nuclear power plants, especially when the developed capitalist world consumes an increasing amount of energy and has no way of maintaining that consumer society without an extraordinary consumption of energy. There has not been any international cooperation to obtain complete safety for the nuclear power plants. But the appearance of the atom and nuclear power have shown that science can find new sources of energy.

When the oil runs out, science will have to find different sources of fuel, and will perhaps have to use hydrogen or other raw materials to find a non-polluting fuel. But poverty in the world on the one hand, and the excessive consumption of the developed capitalist world on the other, have advanced much more rapidly than scientific progress. This is unarguable. It has gone much more rapidly. Capitalism has not allowed what I would call the equal development of society and science, a proportionate development between people's needs and scientific progress.

But there is no doubt that Marx did not conceive of socialism without science. I think science is a vital part of Marxist principles. There is no doubt that forgetting science, forgetting this principle, is a violation of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. One of the first things Lenin said about developing the old czarist empire was that the revolution and socialism was the electrification of the country...[corrects himself] proletarian power and the electrification of the country. He began by building the first hydroelectric plants. Of course, the most reasonable thing human beings can do is to use resources that cannot be exhausted, such as hydroelectric resources.

There are still a lot of hydroelectric resources to be developed in the world. So the idea of applying science is part of the essence of Marxism. What we have been discussing during these days, I repeat, and the enormous effort made this year—in recent years in general, but especially this year—is to find the solution to our problems in science and technology. There is no doubt that the special period has forced us to make an extraordinary effort. There is no doubt that the special period has something to do with this acceleration. It is true that the rectification process was guiding us on the right course, a very good course. All the efforts made in the last five or six years in scientific research began long before the disaster in the socialist bloc.

But the special period has forced us to make an effort in this field as a matter of survival. The survival of the revolution and socialism, the preservation of this country's independence, today depend primarily on science and technology. I am not going to say that this is a problem for science and technology alone. I would say that it is primarily a political problem. It is a matter of awareness, fighting spirit, the will, determination, and courage to resist and to face difficulties, whatever they may be. So this effort in science and technology requires a political premise, which is the will to fight and to win.

But if you take into account the terrible blow our country has been dealt with the socialist disaster, a disaster for which we are not to blame at all...[changes thought], other than the blame for having copied at certain times what we should not have copied, while we were capable of doing many original things. Because this revolution has been marked by its originality, that is why the revolution is here two years after the disaster, when many could not even conceive of this country's keeping

itself free, independent, and revolutionary if what happened in the socialist bloc were to happen one day.

I attribute it to the special characteristics of our revolution, its methods and style, the characteristics and virtues of our people, to the fact that the mistakes made in other places were not made here, to the fact that we saw clearly, very clearly, what would happen because of what they were doing. When we saw the systematic destruction of the historic values of the Soviet people, when we saw the systematic destruction of the party's, state's, and government's authority, when we saw the growing influence of the West and Western ideology, when we saw all those phenomena—which also harmed us, because millions of copies of certain publications circulated here—we could see how the process of destroying values was being carried out.

How can socialism be improved by destroying the historic values of a revolutionary process? How can socialism be improved by destroying the party, or by destroying the state, or the state's prestige and authority, or by destroying the government? This was very clear and obvious to us, when there were many people who were rising to that bait, and they thought all that was wonderful, and they were going to have socialism like not even Thomas More or those utopians had dreamed of. Facts are facts. A country that is here, 90 miles from the United States, could not make those mistakes. So things happened that did not happen here.

Our rectification process—and we were very aware of the need for it—began before they were talking about reforms in the Soviet Union. One of the characteristics of that process was rectifying things we had copied incorrectly, in our work methods, our methods for building socialism. We were rectifying mistakes made from the copies, negative tendencies that had developed, and mistakes. But there was no way this could begin by destroying the party. The party is the great instrument. It was necessary to improve and perfect the party, but the party's authority could not be destroyed. Our people's moral values could not be destroyed.

So life and history have shown that the line followed by our party was the right line. What did everything else give rise to? Such a sad situation as the fact that the socialist bloc does not exist today. Such a sad situation as the fact that the Soviet Union does not exist today. That was a country that wrote such brilliant pages in history, a country that rendered such extraordinary services to humanity, a country that saved the world from fascism, and that defeated fascism at the cost of 20 million dead, a country that shed rivers of blood for human progress.

Today we can ask ourselves, how is this possible? What is left of all that? We can see that mistakes can do what the enemy was not able to do. What Hitler was not able to do, what imperialist intervention was not able to do in the initial years of the October Revolution—eliminate the Soviet Union—men's mistakes have succeeded in doing. That is why I was saying to you that our country

has no responsibility for these historic events. In contrast, we have had to suffer the consequences of that disaster. The entire revolutionary movement and the entire progressive movement in the world have had to suffer the consequences. Socialism has had to suffer the consequences, but our country has had to suffer to a greater degree than any other.

Because for 30 years we were carrying out our programs for economic and social development on the solid basis of our economic relations with the socialist bloc and the Soviet Union. All this has collapsed in almost 24 months, in 24 months. [repeats] So our country and our revolution have had to endure a terrible blow. This blow can be measured by the fact that in 24 months our country's imports of goods have dropped by half, from about 8 billion [unit not given] in imports—including programs for investments, and not including weaponry—from 8 billion they have dropped to less than 4 billion, in only 24 months.

What other country without the characteristics of our country, what other revolution without the characteristics of our revolution, would have been able to endure that blow? These circumstances have forced us not only to have a special period, but to make the special effort we are making in this situation. So if the need to make this effort in the field of science and technology was already clear, very clear, to us, it has become a matter of life or death for the country because of the current international situation. What has been discussed here in this forum is everything that will help in confronting these circumstances we are experiencing.

We cannot talk today about an embargo. We must talk today about two embargoes. There had been an embargo already, concerning Western, capitalist technology, and not another single spare part reached this country. This was when all the trucks, all the tractors—what few there were—all the factories, all the locomotives, all the equipment, had been made in the United States or the socialist bloc. [sentence as heard] Now, the vast majority of our equipment—the vast majority of the buses, locomotives, tractors, equipment, and machinery—is from the Soviet Union or the former socialist bloc, and not a single spare part is reaching us. When all the television sets and refrigerators and household appliances come from there, and not a single spare part is reaching us, we are in the same situation [as with the U.S. embargo], except that a new embargo has arisen while the old embargo still exists.

It is not that they want to put an embargo on us, but there is no way of arranging to get spare parts. It is very difficult to discuss with someone, contract with someone, reach an agreement with someone. Because this year, 1991, we had agreements with the Soviet Union. We had agreements; we had contracts. In comparison with the traditional prices, our products had suffered a considerable drop in price, but they were still at a certain level. Imports were to increase to about \$4

billion, including fuel, which is our major import. Fuel was reduced from 13.3 million [tons] to 10 million.

Agreements were reached for the different kinds of products. To what extent have these agreements been fulfilled for the year for which the agreement was reached, which was at the beginning of this year? Well, out of the total products agreed upon, 38 percent had arrived as of 1 December of what had been agreed on for all the products. This was 38 percent in comparison with[changes thought] Well, this figure I am giving is what was received as of December, in comparison with 1989. What we have received overall is less than half, but in comparison with what we received as of 31 December, what was received in 1989—24 months ago—is 38 percent. What we have received in fuel in comparison with 1989 is 54 percent, as of 1 December. What we have received in other products in comparison with 1989 is 20 percent. At the beginning of this year we reached an agreement, but we have received less than half of what was agreed on. For some of the products, we have received nothing, zero, zero, zero, [repeats] and this includes spare parts.

That is why I am saying that there are two embargoes. For the second time in history, we have to endure the consequences of an embargo. Now we will see what remains of the trade that can be conducted with what remains of the USSR, with the independent republics that have arisen out of the USSR. If before we traded with a union of republics, today we must trade individually with each of those independent republics, and arrange all the means of transportation with each of the independent republics, and not with the independent republics but with many enterprises in those independent republics. Trade has become an extremely difficult task.

This shows us the importance of everything we have been discussing here. I think that what has been discussed here and what is being done is truly impressive. There are hundreds of emulsifiers, large and small, that are being built or have been built throughout the country to achieve 5, 6, 7, 8, or 10 percent higher yield, to conserve fuel. There are hundreds of magnetizers to obtain greater efficiency in the equipment, the boilers; to obtain greater efficiency in many activities; to obtain greater efficiency even with fuel.

I think this effort that is being made with the magnetizers is impressive. This was clearly reflected here, in what was shown about their potential and the lines we must follow on this path, what has been done in recycling parts, and what can be done, what we must do in maintenance with all that equipment and the factories that are idle. I am mentioning only a few of the things that have made up this forum, with the 40,000 solutions proposed, which is an unprecedented number for any country in one year.

I think it represents a measure of the effort being made by our working people, our technicians, our engineers,

and our scientists. How else can we face this situation of a double blockade? It might get to the point where we will end up even having to make clock parts. Of course, right now we are concerned with more critical and important things—specifically everything related to fuel.

Fuel is our Achilles heel, as I have said many times before, due to the present change in the correlation of prices between sugar and fuel in comparison with 1960, 1961 prices. At the price of fuel in 1960, 1961, or 1962, with a ton of sugar, which did not have a high price, a price of 4 or 5 cents, you could get 7 tons of oil. For many years we were protected by trade agreements with the USSR; the sliding price of our product, the extremely just agreement that if the price of the products that they exported to us increased, we increased the price of the products we exported to them. These accords were made before the price of oil went wild and multiplied. Thanks to these accords we were able to get several tons of oil for 1 ton of sugar in trading with the Soviet Union. There were times when we even got 8 tons, afterwards it was less but we got enough fuel for our needs at a just and equitable price.

What is the price of sugar in the so-called international market? It is a price that is below its production cost. What is the price of oil? A price way above its production cost. In the so-called international market, sugar has the garbage dump price and oil has the monopoly price. Nowadays, if you are going to buy oil with the garbage dump price you get 1.3 or 1.4 tons of fuel for every ton of sugar. Otherwise, with 2 million tons of sugar we could get 13 or 14 million tons of oil. What formidable, difficult problems would we have? We would have problems but we would be solving the fuel problem with 2 million tons of sugar. Today, all the sugar that we could produce would not be enough to satisfy, at those prices, the current fuel demand of the country, which is way below the consumption levels we had reached. At those prices, all our sugar would never be enough to buy 13 million, 13.3 million tons of fuel. We also have to buy many other things, not only fuel.

In this year's accord we were to get 4 tons of fuel for 1 ton of sugar, the accord signed with the Soviets for 1991. This is half of what we had sometimes received before, yet it was 4 tons. In other words, 2 million tons of sugar could get us 8 million tons of fuel. Today, the problem is: What fuel are we going to get when the exchange is the monopoly price for fuel and the garbage dump price of the international market for sugar. Yet, even trading at international market prices, there is such chaos and disorganization that it makes you wonder if we will get any shipments at all from that source. A minimum of order and efficiency has to be maintained in that country. I have to say it with sorrow, with sorrow for the Soviets, but I have to bring up this reality.

The main Achilles heel of the special period is fuel. With everything that we are doing today, if we had the supply of fuel guaranteed, the special period would still be hard but I would say that it would be easier to win the battle.

This is why I say that everything related to fuel and saving fuel is so important. What we are doing today, as expressed in this movement, constitutes a truly heroic feat. I would say that working in this manner, we will be invincible if we are capable of withstanding the worst consequences of the special period, if we are capable of fighting, and if we are capable of resisting. The special period has yet to reach its worst. The situation with fuel is not forcing us to go through the worst phase of the special period. I am telling you this to explain clearly what the country can use to acquire fuel in the USSR, at the prices that they want to sell it to us, or from anywhere else which is difficult. We cannot dedicate all the resources of the country to buy fuel; we can only use a portion of them.

Right now, we are working with essentially half the fuel that the country had traditionally used, yet we cannot expect this amount for next year. This December we already face a very difficult situation which will force us to take new measures regarding fuel consumption in the next few days.

Because out of what was supposed to be shipped in December, what has been shipped is an insignificant amount of oil. They have left us practically without fuel for December, when we have not yet discussed what we will receive in January or February. Out of a figure of about 700,000 or 800,000 tons, without counting the back shipments from previous months, we will have only 165,000 tons of oil, which is what has been shipped. That is less than 25 percent of what we were supposed to receive in December. Now, we have to discuss with various entities, various authorities, different authorities, what trade between the former USSR and Cuba, of sugar for oil, will be. So we will find ourselves in the next few days forced to set further restrictions on fuel.

Of course, we are not sitting idle. We are investigating all opportunities for purchasing fuel through different channels, based on the part of our exports we can devote to paying for fuel. But the most likely thing is that the country will not have more than one third of the fuel it traditionally consumed. This means that in 1992—and I should say it like this, very clearly, so that we will know what the situation is and how we must work—it is very likely that we will have to manage in 1992 with one third of the fuel the country consumed in normal times.

This is what the accounts show under these circumstances. This is why I consider that the worst part of the special period is still to come, in 1992. This is the acid test, because after that it cannot get worse. It cannot get worse. [chuckles] We would reach the point that this whole situation has left us in. We should know this. We should know this, especially those of us who are revolutionaries. We patriots should know this. Those of us who consider ourselves capable of defending the nation, capable of fighting should know this. There are millions of us. There are millions of us. [repeats] [applause]

There will be millions of us to the extent that we know how to do things the way they should be done. We will keep our morale high and fight, and be determined to fight and struggle to our last breath, knowing everything that is at stake. In the first place, the nation is at stake. What the imperialists have not succeeded in doing in 200 years, they will not succeed in doing now, which is to take over Cuba. What they were not able to do when Marti fell at Dos Rios, writing—I do not think the energy crisis has come yet [laughter]—writing that everything he had done and would do was to prevent, with Cuban independence, the United States from extending itself as one more power over the peoples of America—and this happened almost 100 years ago—the imperialists are not going to do now, because we are not going to allow them to.

Because we are descendants of Carlos Manuel de Cespedes and Maximo Gomez, the ones who began the war for independence in 1868. Because we are descendants of Maximo Gomez, Maceo, and Marti, the ones who continued the war [applause] the ones who continued the war in 1895. Because we are the people who after more than 50 years achieved our definitive liberation and our definitive independence. Those who doubted that we had achieved our definitive independence and accused us of being a Soviet satellite.... [changes thought] How many millions of times did they accuse us of being a Soviet satellite and a country without independence, until the time came when there was no alternative but to demonstrate that we are truly independent? We were independent, but many people did not believe it, or they could not imagine it.

Imperialism's major criticism of the revolution was that we were a Soviet satellite. Now the major criticism is that we are not doing what the Soviets have done, as if we were suicidal or idiots. Idiots, in the first place, because we do not have to rectify mistakes we have not made. We have always said this; I said this here to Gorbachev, from this same podium. We do not have to make any experiment with independent small farmers, since we have 70,000 independent small farmers, who own up to 60 hectares. What experiment do we have to make with independent farmers if we have tens of thousands of them? We did not carry out any forced collectivization in this country. Our agrarian reform was carried out in another way. We did not suffer here from the problems of Stalinism nor the cult of personality nor the abuse of power nor injustice.

I said this here in more or less the same words and with all due respect to Gorbachev when he visited us, in this same place. I said that we did not have to rectify the mistakes they had made; we had to rectify our mistakes, and we are clear about what our mistakes have been, and those we could not make. We told him we had no reason to make those mistakes. When some publications began to destroy Soviet history in an unjust way, in our opinion, and began a total negation of that history and all those values, we said that those publications would no longer enter this country. How they criticized us! Because all that poison came from the Holy Ghost, as I

said. Why did I use the image of the Holy Ghost? Because Catholic doctrine says that there is the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Since we had made the USSR a god.... [changes thought] That was one of the mistakes we made. I think we went overboard a little, although this does not negate at all the enormous gratitude we feel towards the USSR, and our extraordinary regard and our extraordinary appreciation.

But we fell into the habit of deifying them. So when in Moscow they began to say the most terrible things about socialism and Soviet history, worse things than what was written in the United States, we said: This is unjust. This is unacceptable.

What was left of the Great Patriotic War? Who talked about the Great Patriotic War anymore? That heroic war, whose influence has educated all of us, whose influence has educated all our combatants, the great battles, the great heroic actions, what is left of all that? What was left of something that cost so many lives? It was obvious to us that this simply could not be tolerated. Of course, I said that about the Holy Ghost, because it came from Moscow. It did not come from Washington or Miami.

If you have deified the USSR and ideological poison begins to come from there with all those publications, one day it occurred to me to say: Now the poison is coming from the Holy Ghost. The Holy Ghost has spoken. You can imagine what happens when the Holy Ghost speaks, after you have created the Holy Ghost, after you have professed your faith in the Holy Ghost, and the Holy Ghost begins to say: All that is madness, all that is trash, all that is a lie.

This did more than a little harm here in Cuba. Unfortunately, more than a few people let themselves be influenced by it. It was natural that they would let themselves be influenced by it, because it was the Holy Ghost speaking from beyond the grave, from Moscow, when we had become accustomed to believing everything that was written and said there, to the letter. Unheard-of things began to come from there. Naturally a lot of people, in good faith, of course, believed those things.

It was obvious to us that this was not a question of improving socialism, when all that was written, but rather of destroying socialism. We saw all that very clearly, and we can see it today. Who talks about socialism in the former Soviet Union? No one. They talk only about the market economy, private initiative, privatization, and free enterprise. Imperialism is happy about all these events. Of course, they feel they own the world. They are incapable of tolerating the fact that a small neighbor like us, a small country like Cuba, should remain firm.

They demand that we should make that kind of mistake. More than a little damage was done by those influences. But all this had to happen so many people in the world could realize that we were really an independent country. I think we are now the most independent country in the

world. I dare to say it. There is no other country that can talk the way Cuba is talking today, and tell the truth the way Cuba is telling the truth today. There is no country that is more independent than Cuba. That is what we are defending.

We will also learn this historic lesson, we will learn to believe in ourselves more, because the fact of the enormous feats performed by the Soviet Union led us into the negative tendency of underrating ourselves. We saw the only wisdom, the only source of experience there in the Soviet Union. There were many good experiences we gained from them, without a doubt, and many useful things, but we also fell into the error of underrating ourselves by overrating others. This should also be a historic lesson. This will help us have more confidence in ourselves.

But since the triumph of the revolution, we have been an absolutely independent country for the first time in our history. That is what we will never give up. I repeat that what will never happen is going back to being a Yankee colony. The Latin American and Third World peoples know what it would mean for them if imperialism got its way and eliminated the Cuban revolution. They are horrified when they think about this, and they tell us: Resist. Our hope lies in that you will resist.

That is the issue: resisting. If we resist, we will win. We will resist. Why? Because there is a nation that has been formed. This is not 1868 or 1895. In 1868 and 1895 there were many people fighting for Spain, people who had been born here. This does not mean that we can count on all those who have been born here. We know there is trash here, and there are weaklings. We know there are soft parts. We know there are those who let themselves be intimidated, and who are frightened by the tasks or the magnitude of the efforts we have ahead of us, the magnitude of the challenge. That is why I say that this is reaching a crisis point. We should reach the worst point in 1992.

We must all have our minds prepared, and above all, we must make our best, most intelligent effort to ensure food for the populace, first of all, under these conditions; to ensure medicines, the food program, first of all, the scientific and biotechnology programs, the tourism programs, all the programs that bring us income, all the measures that under the conditions of a double embargo will allow us to keep the factories operating. This is why we have adopted practical measures. As we have said other times, if the factories are there, the workers are there, the equipment and men, but the raw materials are lacking, and if a partner appears who in his own interest wants to provide the raw materials and make a deal with us, we will make that deal right away. The factory will not remain idle.

If someone wants to invest in hotels, since we have considerable natural resources, and they can become a significant source of income for the country, we will accept this. We are studying all the formulas for possible

partnerships with those who are willing to invest in partnership with us. We know very well what this is for, where this can be done and where this cannot be done, in a very practical sense, and without violating a single principle. Because there is no book by Marx, Engels, or Lenin that says a country can develop without capital, technology, or markets. This is why imperialism is intensifying its embargo and is irritated that any businessman from any other country would want to form any kind of partnership with us.

Because of the conditions of the collapse of the socialist bloc, we need certain resources for development, because our problem is to resist and develop. With all the intelligence we have accumulated, and all the talent we have developed—what a genuine fruit of the revolution!—if we resist, we will develop, because there is no one who can stop the momentum of our scientific research centers and the results we are now obtaining. There is no one who can stop the results of so many minds working in coordination, closely united.

I want to tell you that as the country's situation becomes more difficult, the solidarity of the peoples in the world with Cuba is increasing. But this is like when we were in the Sierra Maestra. Everyone applauded us, but our victory did not depend on the applause or the goodwill they might have had towards us. International solidarity is very important. International public opinion was and is very important. But in those days, it depended on our capacity to make sacrifices, to suffer...[corrects himself] to go up and down hills, to endure cold and work, to fight intelligently, to confront the enormous advantage the enemy had. That is what it depended on: on us.

Likewise, today, however great the moral and political solidarity may be, however great the sympathy for the small heroic country that resists, victory depends on us, on our capacity to work, to make sacrifices, to overcome obstacles, to go up and down mountains, and our willingness to do so. The enemy will always try to discourage us and tell us we have no chance. There will always be defeatist factions and arguments, instilled by imperialism to weaken the people's morale. Anyone who saw, as we did, the secondary school students gathered here a few days ago, their revolutionary spirit, their combative spirit, the morale of those children, the best of our young people, the new generation, could not have the slightest doubt that in this country there are the moral qualities and virtues to confront any task.

It seemed to me that those children were in the midst of a great historic battle, and they behaved like soldiers in the midst of battle, with 'that spirit, that courage, that level of adrenaline in their blood'. This is not the same as what you have 20 years later when you are writing the history of what was done. I would say to the children: I doubt that in the future you will find a spirit as high as this, because this spirit can only be found in exceptional times, in difficult times.

There will be those who proclaim that it will be a useless struggle. But to the skeptical, the passive, the weak, those who try to lower our people's morale, we should always say that the only thing that would mean the end of all hope, the only thing that would mean the total loss of a future or opportunities, is if we no longer had a nation. If the Yankees reconquer this country, I can assure you that they will never let it go as long as the Yankee empire exists. They will never let it go, with all the parasitic and counterrevolutionary scum, which is their strength. What would they turn us into? A Puerto Rico, a Miami, or what? Historically, they have always wanted to take over Cuba. If they take over Cuba again, they will never let it go.

That is why we must say that the only thing that would not include a future would be if we were to lose the nation, if we were to lose the revolution, if we were to lose socialism. Our people did not choose this role. When there was a powerful Soviet Union, a powerful socialist bloc, a powerful international socialist movement, we were but a modest part of this movement. Once all of this collapsed, this enormous responsibility that we now have fell on our shoulders. We did not seek it, we did not go looking for it. It is the result of the struggle of our people for more than 100 years. It is the result of the long fight of our people for their independence, sovereignty, freedom, and development.

Today it has been left in the hands of our people to defend these principles, to defend these goals. It is not that our people, in an effort to obtain glory, are willing to challenge everything. We are not seeking glory, it is glory that is seeking us. We are not the ones seeking glory. We are not the ones seeking a distinguished role in history; history is seeking a distinguished role for us. There is no doubt that if we act as we should act, with the unity, intelligence, and courage with which we must act, we will triumph.

The imperialists will not be able to handle us. I insist that they will not be able to, as long as there is a single Cuban left. This is nothing like anything they have seen anywhere in the world. Here we have millions and millions of people whose human qualities have been well proven. It is not possible to overtake a people willing to fight. Here, we will not have another Zanjón ever again. Here, we will not have incomplete struggles ever again. The imperialists will not be able to deal with us. [applause]

We will not become a colony again, nor return to capitalism. It is too much garbage, too repulsive, too intolerable to ever return to. The world has taught us what capitalism is. Not only there, where the homeless sleep in the streets and the paupers beg alongside the multimillionaires. Not only there, which is filled with all kinds of vice, inequity, and injustice. We can especially see the capitalism that they are saving for us. This is the capitalism of Santo Domingo, Haiti, Puerto Rico, Central America, and South America, where there are 30 million homeless children. It is also the capitalism of the poor. It is the capitalism of gambling, vice, drugs,

prostitution, beggars, inequality, and racial and sexual discrimination. It leaves millions of people in the streets.

The imperialists are not going to come behind their troops to bring the oil the country needs. This country has brought electricity to more than 90 percent of its homes. Before the revolution, only half the homes had electricity, fewer homes and much less electricity per home. No, they import millions of tons of oil every month. They are not even a sugar market because in their hostility toward the revolution, they took away our sugar quota, divided it among other countries, and later they became self-sufficient in producing sugar.

No one is going to come to give us oil or anything else. No one is going to come with gifts of oil or food. No one is going to come with gifts of oil, food, or medicine. No one is going to come to give this country social well-being, and certainly not the Yankee imperialists. They invade countries, like they did in Panama. They are not capable of helping them. They wage a dirty war in Nicaragua, and they are not capable of helping. Right now, they are creating concentration camps at the Guantanamo Naval Base, yet they are incapable of sending a few boats with food to Haiti so the people would not have to leave there in desperation due to the economic and social situation in which they are living.

Whatever we have in the future, we are going to have to create by ourselves. We must win it with our arms, our sweat, and our intelligence. We can do much and we can go far because we have what others do not have. The amount of talent accumulated in our society, the amount of intelligence that has been developed—with what we have we can achieve whatever we want. We can get this same impression if we go and observe a contingent in agriculture, or if we see a construction contingent. When we see the people working 10, 11, 12, 13, and 14 hours, yes, working that way, with the resources that we have, we can go far. No one will have to give us anything. It will be a terrible day when we have to live on the food of others. It will be a terrible day when our people have to go begging for food from the hands of imperialist masters. [applause]

Those who prefer garbage can have it, if they are given garbage, but our worthy and revolutionary people will never accept that. We who feel responsible for all the members of our party and our young communists, for all the members of our labor unions and our mass organizations; we who feel responsible for all the students and all the Pioneers; we know our role in this struggle and we know who our teachers were. We know who showed us the way, and none of those who have shown us the way have ever abandoned their posts. Cespedes never abandoned his post. Agramonte never abandoned his post. Neither did Maximo Gomez, nor Maceo, nor Martí. Almost all of them died in that struggle for independence. Some survived, but very few.

We have had excellent teachers, but we did not have only teachers. In this very republic, colonized or neocolonized, we have had many examples of men who knew how to guard their posts to the death. We have had the privilege of having many comrades who knew how to guard their posts to the death. We have had the privilege of having many comrades who not only were capable of dying for their own people, but were capable of dying for other peoples. [applause] We feel responsible for everyone, each and every Cuban revolutionary. Each one of us, each of the revolutionary leaders, each official, each of the members of the Politburo and Central Committee, and the leaders of our state and our government, will know how to live up to their responsibilities and their people.

We do not ask anyone to do anything that we are not capable of doing. We do not proclaim fatherland or death without the firmest of convictions that together with our people, if we must die, we will all die. [applause] Imperialism will not find slaves among our revolutionary people. There may be lackeys, but a people cannot be made with lackeys. With lackeys, you cannot defend the land. You cannot defend the nation. You cannot defend freedom, or honor, or anything. With patriots, with revolutionaries, with valiant men and women, it is possible to defend everything. I repeat, a patriotic and revolutionary people is invincible. I am telling you, as I told the students, and as I have told all honest compatriots, that we will be able to pass these tests.

We will be able to overcome these difficulties, all of them, we are not neglecting any of them, because we are not neglecting defense, not for a second. Our problems are not just with fuel, spare parts, and raw materials. The problem is that we must be strong and ensure that the imperialists will pay too high a price if they attack us, if they invade us. The imperialists will not miss the smallest opportunity, the smallest chance, the smallest pretext to attack if they imagine that we are easy prey. But we have not stopped for even one minute from building fortifications, preparing the terrain for defense, digging tunnels, training the populace for the fight, and organizing the populace better and better.

So this is a test for a nation—as we said recently—of giants, a nation of heroes. I believe that this fact is what has spurred and will spur the efforts that we have seen at this Sixth Spare Parts, Equipment, and Advanced Technologies Forum. It seems that with this name you have given the forum, we can continue to progress. We have unified all the talents, all the scientists, all the researchers, all the technicians, all the engineers, all those who are creative, and those who are intelligent, in this task.

So the will to fight and to resist have been added, the will to defend the fatherland to the last breath has been added to talents that have no equal. These talents are not divided, but united. These talents multiply with cooperation. These talents can be increased by two, by 10, by

20, by 100 because these talents cooperate with one another. These talents work together. So our nation, our revolution, and our socialism today have a strong, unified party, with a formidable youth section, with armed forces, with combatants from the Ministry of the Interior which, joined with the entire population, are invincible. We have your talent, and we have a revolutionary and heroic people. [applause]

We are preparing to confront the major obstacles, and if today we had to...[rephrases], if in 1992 we receive one ton of oil for every three that we received in the past, we must be able to make do with that ton of oil. [applause] In the agricultural sector, we will have to use many more oxen to perform all the tasks which still require fuel. We must make greater efforts to conserve electricity, because electricity is one of the main fuel consumers. We must make greater efforts to conserve in transportation. Transportation is also one of the primary fuel consumers. We must use more and more bicycles. We must continue to purchase bicycles, continue to assemble bicycles, and continue to manufacture bicycles as a means of transportation, and we must use tricycles as a substitute for many vans and other vehicles that are still used today.

We have purchased 60,000 tricycles that can be used to transport bread and perform many of the activities for which motorized vehicles are now used. We have purchased more than 1 million bicycles. Next year, we will have at least 1 million more, including those we manufacture ourselves and those we purchase. There are towns in the interior of the country where taxis are no longer used. They use carts and carriages.

Our problem is how to use every drop of that one ton of oil we will receive, out of the three we used to receive. How much should we use for electricity? How much for transportation? How much for irrigation systems? How much for essential industries? We are also developing other methods. Some sectors of the economy should be self-sufficient in fuel; for example, nickel, to guarantee nickel production. The nickel industry should pay for its own fuel with its production and exports. International tourism should pay for its own fuel, with its hard currency income, and international tourism will work. Large enterprises, like Antillana Steel and others, should provide their own fuel; they should pay for their own fuel with their exports.

We must guarantee the priority activities in these circumstances, and of course our number one priority is food. That is why we debated where the tractors will be used. Then we talked about the multiple plow; what tractors will we use it with? How many do we have? How many are we going to use at the combines? Where should we use diesel? Because it is more rational than replacement with animal traction or manual labor. We should make every effort to ensure that the cane combines work, because the fuel needed to operate a cane combine could

be more expensive than the enormous mobilizations of cane cutters, who need camps, transportation, and food. [sentence as heard]

We need to do some agriculture, plowing, with tractors. We need the irrigation systems to work, because a caballeria that can yield 30,000 quintals of bananas with aerial microjet irrigation would produce one-tenth of that if it is not irrigated. We must know that that irrigation equipment requires fuel. We must become super experts in optimizing every gram of energy we may have, in order to continue guaranteeing priority programs. None of the science research centers should stop. The scientific community must not stop. The tremendous momentum in biotechnology, the pharmaceutical industry, and the production of medical equipment must not stop. The tourism programs for obtaining hard currency must not stop. This way, each sector, each factory, each activity must take its place. We must know what can be stopped and what cannot be stopped, what should be stopped and what should not be stopped.

I would truly say that the people in Santiago de Cuba, the people at the Santiago de Cuba textile factory, are setting a formidable example. They had no more raw materials. Well, how much cotton are we going to have in the coming year? We must make do with the same clothing that we already have, whether for two, three, four, or five years, including the women. They must take an inventory, as we say here at this forum, of how many dresses they have in the closet, and say: These will have to last me four or five years. Is this true or not? Each one of us should review our clothing needs, and how long our clothes should last. Shoes must be guaranteed, the same as food and medicine.

I believe we will be better off than we were in 1868. I believe we will be better off than we were during the war from 1868 to 1878. I believe we will be better off than we were during the war of 1895. I believe that by managing what the country has—and that is all that we can count on—we will be better off than we were in the Sierra Maestra. I believe we will be better off than under capitalism, because we hope no child will go hungry, no citizen will go hungry. We hope that no citizen will be left to his fate. We hope that no student will be left without a job or income after graduation, because this is the socialist method. We do not throw millions of people out in the streets and say they are on their own.

So I believe that no matter how difficult things are, they will be more bearable than other times our people have already lived through. I believe that any sacrifice will be 1,000 times more preferable than going back to capitalism, with all its injustices, all its inequalities, all its abuses, all its vices, all its humiliation. Any sacrifice will be preferable to losing the country's independence, losing the revolution, and losing socialism, which gave us complete dignity for the first time, and gave us complete freedom for the first time.

I greatly admire, really—and it impresses me very much, to see—what I have seen in this forum, to listen to you, to listen to all your words, full of nobility, full of love for your people and for your nation, full of confidence in yourselves, full of faith in the talents of each one of you and the talent of your people, full of confidence in your nation, in the revolution, in mankind. I am very impressed to see such generous, unselfish people. I was impressed to know that there are hundreds of people here who, if they had wanted to choose a different road, could have chosen the road to riches. They could have chosen to leave their nation in order to acquire money. None of you have ever thought of this. I am impressed to know that we have doctors, specialists, and scientists who could be millionaires abroad, and here there are many people who do not even have a car. It may be that even those who have cars have too little gasoline to get around in their cars, but they do not think of betraying their nation. [applause]

As proof that this is our people's spirit, we should also think of the dozens and dozens of athletes who live in our country so modestly, and when they have gone abroad to compete, they have been offered the opportunity to earn millions of dollars. So all of us admire these humble children of our nation, who do not exchange their honor or their flag for all the money in the world. There are thousands, hundreds of thousands, millions of our fellow countrymen like this who will not exchange their ideas for any amount of money, who do not trade their nation for any amount of wealth. I say that a people like this is truly worthy of admiration, worthy of respect, worthy of affection.

But if we have a people like this, if we have men and women like you who are present here, it is because we had the revolution, because we have had socialism, and because we have an independent and noble nation in which we can develop ourselves, where we can meet together, [applause] where our imagination, intelligence, and talents are free to fly. That is why there is only one option: the fatherland, the revolution, and socialism. [applause]

May this fatherland live forever! [crowd shouts: "Viva!"]
May this revolution live forever! [crowd shouts: "Viva!"]
May socialism live forever! [crowd shouts: "Viva!"]
[applause]

Castro Attends Science Commission Session

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in Spanish 2032 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Fidel stressed the pressing need for preserving our scientific discoveries during the discussions of the Science and Technology Commission at the Seventh Education, Science, and Sports Workers Congress. In today's morning session, which extended into the afternoon at the National Center of Scientific Research, the commander in chief intervened during several discussions relating to the results of scientific research, its application, and its general use.

Among the issues analyzed at the congress were: a new integral health program in the mountains; the results obtained at coffee farms near Pinales de Mayari; edible mushrooms; the cooperation of all research centers in the various fields; and others. The commission also analyzed the possibility of creating a special working group in Havana which would bring together scientists from all social and economic fields.

Discussions at Commission Meeting

FL2112033691 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Discussions between our commander in chief and scientists characterized the working sessions of the Scientific Commission. Some issues analyzed were the integral health program in the mountains, the comprehensive study of coastal development for tourism, as well as the results of the coffee plantations in Pinales de Mayari. Fidel reiterated the importance of protecting our research to avoid allowing other countries to use them to their advantage.

[Begin Castro recording] There are some fields in which they can be of great economic interest for the country. Or when we give them away, that we give them in exchange for something that they can give us. We have shown some things like sacharina to the people because we had thought of using it for the production of milk, meat, food for the people and not to produce exportable goods [words indistinct]. The situation has obliged us to change that policy or that attitude. We could give things away under other circumstances, but at the moment, when the country depends on itself, and completely on itself, we must know how to ask others for something in exchange for what we can give them. [end recording]

During a recess, our commander in chief talked with reporters.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] What has been your impression of the debates with the scientists as part of the sessions of the seventh congress?

[Castro] As part of this current one?

[Reporter] This one.

[Castro] Today's?

[Reporter] Yes.

[Castro] Marvelous.

[Reporter] Have they contributed...[interrupted by Castro]

[Castro] I preferred coming to the morning session because I had other things to do and I had to work extra hard on some things to be able to come to the afternoon session too. Many very important and useful things have been said.

[Reporter] To us it seems that this commission is the most important one, even though the education commission is important also. They are all very important but we recognize the hope that we have put in scientific achievements.

[Castro] The science commission has a very important load on their shoulders to help us to resolve the fundamental problems. They are all important; of course, sports and education are very important but at this moment the role of science... [changes thought] We must learn to value it. I value it a lot. They are in the middle of the battle and are our heavy artillery.

[Reporter] Commander, from outside we noticed that you have talked with the scientists. You have asked them many things.

[Castro] I am asking things of interest, and because in our jobs these issues are brought to our attention every day. The lobsters, [word indistinct] citrus fruits, the research of the [words indistinct] the problems of the shrimp are just to mention some examples. The problems with the micro-organisms to make fuel more soluble. [sentence as heard] These are issues we are constantly discussing in our working meetings of the Executive Committee. We discuss these issues later in our visits to the research centers and our conversations with the scientists. Therefore, there are some things that we do not understand well. Some institutions and academies of science have changed their name so we do not know them well. So we ask them, since when has your organization existed? They answer: Well, it is the union of this institution and that institution and it is called this and we do that. Then they explain the things they are doing, which are extremely interesting. All who have spoken there have said very interesting things. All of them, without exception.

[Reporter] The practical application, the application of all these achievements, was this also part of the debate?

[Castro] Of course, that is on everyone's mind. We have already achieved great cooperation in the scientific field. What I would like to see now is national cooperation; very broad cooperation; awareness of cooperation. I would say a culture of cooperation and a culture of discretion. [end recording]

Sees 1992 as 'Difficult' Year

FL2112192391 Havana Radio Progreso Network in Spanish 1725 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro is attending today's plenary session of the Seventh Congress of the National Union of Education, Science, and Sports Workers. The meeting, which began yesterday on the Freedom Campus in Havana, has gathered together more than 500 delegates, guests, and representatives of international and Latin American labor union organizations.

At the conclusion of the sessions of the science commission of the Seventh Congress, Commander in Chief Fidel Castro stated that in 1992 we must do more than we have achieved in the field of science during the preceding years of the revolution. During the science commission's discussions, the delegates discussed topics concerning adjusting research plans to the country's most urgent needs, and the linkage between scientists and producers in facilitating the practical application of results and the marketing by producers.

In speaking to the delegates, Fidel also said that next year will be decisive and will be the most difficult year of the special period, so that it is truly encouraging to hear about the work that is being done in the country's various scientific centers.

Council of Ministers Conservation Message

*FL2012160191 Havana Tele Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1200 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] We now present a message to the people by the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers on additional measures, in light of the shortage of fuel and other imports.

As is well known, in 1990, fuel imports from the USSR experienced a reduction of 3.3 million tons, and only 10 million tons arrived. The 1991 program was based on the 10 million tons as per the accord with the USSR. Until June, the agreed rate of Soviet fuel shipments proceeded as per the accord, but after June, in light of the domestic difficulties of that country, there have been anomalies in shipments which, by the end of November, had reached approximately 650,000 tons. This has made it necessary to progressively implement a series of measures to reduce consumption of oil products, particularly within the state sector. To all of this we would have to add that to date, the amount of fuel received for December, far from reducing the backlog, increases it by more than 1 million tons. What is expected for this month has been reduced to an insignificant amount.

Likewise, as Fidel luxuriously detailed in his report to the Fourth Communist Party of Cuba Congress, many other products that traditionally came from the USSR have experienced striking anomalies, as in the case of food for the people; and grains, as well as other supplements for animal feeding; which have caused serious difficulties with milk, meat, and poultry production.

By the end of November, shipments of food from the USSR had been reduced to less than 50 percent. Some products, such as rice, frozen fish, and canned meats have not been received at all. Only 50 percent of chick-peas, 33 percent of condensed milk, 47 percent of wheat flour, and 20 percent of powdered milk and cheese have arrived. Of other products related to food production such as tin, we have received only 32 percent; and of almost 1 million tons of fertilizer, only 187,000 tons have arrived.

Practically no raw materials have arrived for the production of soap and detergent. Of the 6,000 tons of soap, only 300 arrived; and of the 12,000 tons of detergent, none have been shipped to Cuba. The arrival of important products for industry, construction, and transport has been insignificant. Changes implemented in accords with the USSR on terms of maritime transportation have made it necessary for our fleet and chartered vessels to transport more than 1 million tons of products that were previously transported by the USSR, with a consequent hard currency expenditure by us.

Despite efforts made and results attained in the more efficient use of fuel to-date, important activities in production and service resources such as construction, light industry, the sugarcane crop program of land drainage, construction of rice terraces, transportation, tire production, and others have been affected. Fuel consumption had been reduced to almost half of that used two years ago.

Compliance with state and residential measures to reduce electricity usage has made possible the reduction of electric generation this year in comparison with the same period last year. The state sector has reduced its electric consumption by 19 percent, with highest demand between 235 and 245 megawatts. This has been accomplished by moving work shifts out of peak hours. Efficiency has been increased in production processes, and industries lacking raw materials have been shut down to avoid fuel consumption.

Electric consumption by the people stopped its yearly six percent growth and was reduced by 3.5 percent despite the increase in number of consumers. The average monthly family consumption was reduced by 7.4 kw per hour. All of this demonstrates that from the first day the measures to reduce electric consumption were announced, the great majority of the people became involved and started taking steps to reduce electric consumption in their homes, although not to the degree required.

Minimal fuel consumption must be guaranteed for the sugar harvest, winter planting campaigns, and other harvests and vitally important activities for the country which are to take place over the next few months. For these purposes, it is essential to immediately implement the following measures:

In the state sector, in order to reduce the use of public transportation, reduce public food consumption, and in general to promote the reduction of material expenses, work will be halted in several work centers, making it necessary for mass and political organizations and organs to make the necessary arrangements to relocate their personnel to useful tasks, primarily prioritized agricultural jobs. Once this option has been exhausted, in coordination with the state committee for labor and social security, the established regulations for labor and salaries will be applied to unlocated personnel.

In accordance with the previous point, the number of personnel working in central organs and branches should be reduced proportionate to the reduction effected in the production and service industries. Television transmission will be reduced to five hours a day from Monday to Friday, to nine hours on Saturday, and to 14 hours on Sunday.

In every region, the relocation of movie theaters will be analyzed according to the availability of movies and public attendance.

The use of air conditioning equipment at all administrative and other types of offices will be almost totally eliminated as far as is practicable.

Reorganization of the commercial net of industrial products will be studied in accordance with availability of merchandise and characteristics of the region to ensure that only essential facilities are in operation. As an alternative, work hours will be reduced at these facilities.

It will be guaranteed that prioritized services which remain in operation consume the minimal essential levels of electricity.

Transmissions of an international nature; national programs which, given the value of their transmission on television, are selected to be maintained; and the celebration of sports events during the evening, shall all be reduced.

To maximize the use of street lights in avenues and nearby areas, the utmost advantage should be taken of natural light by removing curtains and others items that may block its path.

In transportation, considering the unavailability of spare parts, tires, and batteries, as well as fuel, the daily average number of bus trips in Havana will be gradually reduced. Buses that use gasoline will be eliminated and only buses that use diesel fuel will remain. In the rest of the country, urban and intercity passenger transportation will be proportionately reduced in accordance with the situation of each province.

The limited availability of fuel means a reduction of production and service activities and a consequent decline in the use of vehicles of state entities. The state sector is therefore forbidden from contracting private transportation trucks. Vehicles that currently receive fuel through the state will receive only the basic established quota, adjusted according to their categories, as well as the rest of the private vehicles.

The quota of fuel to vehicles of the administrative services of state organs and enterprises has been gradually reduced during the last few months. Yet, a new 30-percent reduction will be implemented in accordance with the average consumption as of October. The Ministry of Transportation and provincial organs of the peoples government will strengthen measures that guarantee compliance with the present guidelines on passenger pick-up by the buses of state organs, enterprises,

and others, on their regular urban as well as intercity routes, including school buses.

The state's public taxi service will be limited to provide essential services to people at health centers, funeral homes, and passenger terminals. Distribution of fuel to private taxi vehicles, formerly Anchar, which currently receive fuel from the provincial organs of the people's government will receive only the adjusted basic quota, according to the type of vehicle, as with all other private vehicles. The current allotment of gasoline and diesel to private vehicles is to be reduced by 30 percent, and the availability of additional special quotas for some professionals with private vehicles shall be reduced by 60 percent. The new special quotas will be established according to the priorities of every province, and the distribution of gasoline will depend on the availability in each region.

On the consumption of electrical energy: Consumers whose current plan, with a 10-percent reduction already in effect, of between zero and 150 kw hours per month, will keep the same plan. This means that 71.5 percent of consumers will not be affected by further reductions. Consumers whose current plan is higher than 150 kw hours per month will fall under a new plan of 150 kw hours per month plus 50 percent of the difference, with their current plan not to exceed 300 kw hours per month.

Finally, every province will be assigned a maximum daily consumption plan based on territorial requirements and keeping in mind the new measures for the state and residential sectors. Any province that surpasses its assigned amount on any one day will have to correspondingly reduce its consumption the next day by halting activities or reducing services. This measure will allow provincial governments to act more directly in controlling electric consumption.

We expect that if all these measures are followed with the required discipline, unavoidable interruptions in electric service to the people, blackouts, will be reduced. The utmost cooperation of the people will be essential in order to avoid having to implement the established sanctions, including cutting off power, against those who surpass their plan.

If the availability of fuel continues diminishing, further reductions will be unavoidable, requiring new decisions which would be reported beforehand.

Despite all the difficulties—as the result of our efforts and desire to avoid halting progress, which will eventually allow us to leave the special period behind—by the end of this year we will have completed the construction, primarily on prioritized projects, of investments amounting to 1,700 million pesos. We will complete 27 dams and irrigation channels, with a total reservoir capacity of 800 million cubic meters. In tourism, 4,000 rooms and other related essential projects will be completed. Important facilities will also be completed for the biotechnology and the medical-pharmaceutical industries, which have already made important contributions

to our economy, and will continue to expand at full speed. Work has also continued on the nickel plants, the Juragua nuclear plant, and the Antillana steel enterprise. Other important works have also been completed such as the laminating facility of Las Tunas, the liquid detergent and bicycle tire plants, and two new meat processing facilities.

Despite the priority assigned to economic projects, this year we have worked on the completion of 400 family doctor centers, 14 child care centers, two specialized trade schools, approximately 1,500 houses, as well several expansion and renovation projects at seven hospitals.

Despite the difficulties and shortages we are experiencing, satisfying our people's needs is maintained at a dignified level thanks to the work of the revolution throughout the last 30 years. Our country has achieved health, education, sports, and electrification levels comparable with highly developed countries. We could quote many well known examples, but it is only necessary to say that in Cuba the number of AIDS cases is insignificant, and that thanks to a great institutional and social effort, we have remained free of cholera, all children go to school, all workers have a right to retirement, and no one will be left abandoned no matter how great our difficulties might be.

It is also important to remember that in any case, the party and government will adopt whichever measures are needed to guarantee the food, the biotechnology, the medical-pharmaceutical industry, and the tourist prioritized programs. Under the current circumstances and in the face of any future eventuality, the support, understanding, and conscientious compliance with these measures by all citizens will be decisive factors in facing this situation with the confidence that through hard, intelligent work and the unity of our people, we will be able to eventually surmount the special period in time of peace and save the country, the revolution, and socialism.

Signed: The Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers.

Television Programming Changes Announced

*FL2112141391 Havana Tele Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1300 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] In accordance with the measures set forth by the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers, Cuban television will make adjustments in its programming, which will include a reduction from the current broadcasting of 129 hours per week to 81 hours. The concepts of respecting, as much as possible, the fundamental program content and hours of the greatest viewing audience have predominated.

From Monday to Saturday, both channels will concentrate their broadcasts in the afternoon and evening hours; morning and midday programming has been eliminated for those days. Cuba Vision and Tele Rebelde

will broadcast starting at 1825 and 1900 [2325 and 0000 GMT] respectively until approximately 2300 [0400 GMT], except in the case of events the natures of which do not permit interruption by a strict schedule, or for evening movies, as is the case of Saturday nights.

The plan approved for adjustments in television programming is based on the priority of informational programming, and will include supplemental news programs on Cuba Vision at the beginning and end of its broadcasting hours. Likewise, the entertainment programs that have a large viewing audience, such as the soap operas, have been retained, although their frequency and times will vary. Programming for children in the afternoons and on Sundays has also been retained.

The regional television centers will concentrate their broadcasts between 1800 and 1900 [2300 and 0000 GMT], using Tele Rebelde Network. Radio, for its part, will begin to broadcast a news program at 1300 [1800 GMT], which can be heard on a nationwide network. This fulfills the intent of providing an important daytime news program at a convenient listening time.

People's Government Discusses Special Measures

*FL2112191491 Havana Tele Rebelde Network
in Spanish 1800 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] The sixth regular session of the People's Government, corresponding to the sixth term of the Havana Provincial Assembly, is being held today. The Executive Committee's report to the assembly was the first point on the agenda. The report analyzes various aspects of the plan of measures to deal with the special period in Havana. Priority attention is given to problems on the reorganization and strengthening of commercial activities in the city, the functioning of services, and the treatment of local industries because of their importance in producing items that are in great demand by the public.

The report discusses the problem of transportation, and states that studies have been carried out in each municipality to optimize this service with a minimum of resources. Emphasis is put on the food program tasks, especially those concerning food distribution. The people's gardens are the subject of one of the most important paragraphs in the report. About 15,000 areas can potentially be planted in the capital, and to date 6,000 have already been planted. The report calls for an intensification of this work in December, January, and February because this is the best planting season. The seeds are now available to the public, and there are experienced personnel in the zones and areas to give guidance to families about various crops.

Likewise, conservation and monitoring of fuel are part of one of the most analyzed points of this document. We will have further information on our next newscast.

Commentary Examines Fuel Crisis Implications

*FL2012134891 Havana Tele Rebelde and Cuba Vision
Networks in Spanish 0100 GMT 20 Dec 91*

["Focus" commentary]

[Text] The fuel problem is our most difficult problem, Fidel said. We are faced with a noticeable reduction, and we will only be able to buy one-third the oil that we consumed in 1989 as a result of the unequal trade terms that prevail in our relations with the country that was once our strongest ally.

This development becomes more menacing since we are now dependent on market factors and on the depressive trends in sugar prices, and also because of the danger that in the midst of these current irregularities, the interruptions and instability in the arrivals of that vital source of energy will increase.

The deficit of available oil forces us to follow a hard path of restrictions. This leads to uncertainty as to how we will ensure work for the entire work force, which is now available, and greatly complicates our taking advantage of our high rate of job humanization, which had been achieved through the massive application of machinery in many productive activities.

We will also face difficulties in our social obligations. The revolution, upon its triumph, found that only 56 percent of Cuban families enjoyed electricity. It has worked hard to increase capacity, and electricity has been installed in 94 percent of homes, despite the fact that in the past 30 years the number of inhabitants has virtually doubled.

Efforts were made so that, according to international statistics, Cuba has been among the four Latin American countries with the highest per capita energy consumption. The revolution also notably increased living standards through ownership of household appliances, and has gradually increased transportation, education, medical, cultural, recreational, and many other services.

The reasons for concern regarding this adverse situation are legitimate. It is a serious obstacle which we cannot confront if we are condemned by social outcries, nor by renouncing our strategy of priorities, with which we will not only be able to ensure that our basic needs are met, but also ensure the vital programs which could bring the country out of this critical period.

What have other countries done to confront these kinds of phenomena? They have used neoconservative policies. They have established, as a mechanism to regulate consumption, high pricing policies which harm the masses. They have made private business interests more important than the needs of society, and removed any rationing principle that would contribute to minimizing the oppressive chaos of poverty which is generated by inequality.

The revolution will always prefer, under these circumstances, to call upon the people for reductions through quotas, whether of electricity or any other item of consumption, rather than solving the problem by those methods which disregard the needs of the majority, because the revolution's fundamental principle is that no one will be left unprotected.

In view of this insurmountable reality which is beyond our control, we must determine what other means can be used under these circumstances; for example, by sacrificing certain consumption levels before we limit the programs and development guidelines which can lead us more quickly out of this difficult time.

Where will we get the purchasing power to obtain greater fuel supplies, or the hundreds of millions in hard currency which we need to buy food? Where will the money come from to buy the indispensable raw materials which make our primary industries function? Even further, where will the money come from so we can carry out our development plans in the energy sector when new options exist? We are not speaking now in a speculative commentary on the prospecting for oil reserves under our marine platform which some joint companies are conducting. They have invested tens of millions of dollars in this search. We are speaking about what continued efforts to finish two nuclear power plants in Cienfuegos could consist of. We have invested a lot of money in this, and it represents 25 percent of our current energy production capacity. We are also speaking about the projects to effectively use straw and sugarcane bagasse, which can equate to 1 million tons of oil, as well as the acceleration of work on alternative sources of energy, such as solar, biogas, fuel emulsion, wind, magnetic, etc.

It is evident that this new phenomenon is forcing us to come up with better formulas for rationalization so that our paths to solutions will not be unproductive. If we do not work within the development guidelines, or if the national interest does not prevail when any kind of decision is made, this would be the worst thing we could do in these circumstances. Then we would really be at the mercy of the crisis, and we would not have any way of confronting it.

Need for Creativity To Overcome Problems Noted

*PA2112194591 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish
0000 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Commentary by Roberto Morejon]

[Text] The creative imagination of Cubans has been at its most fertile since learning about the ever-growing dangers jeopardizing our very survival. Since the tragic and no less resounding collapse of the socialist bloc, which was sealed by the official death of the USSR, the 11 million inhabitants of the largest island in the Antilles have realized that they must replace foreign supplies that suddenly are no longer arriving or are being delayed.

The Cuban intelligence, which has been carefully molded by 32 years of lofty educational and cultural standards, moved to the forefront as a means to achieve the noblest objectives: discover, research, and rationalize. Scientists, researchers, technicians and other specialists are working with dedication in those directions. The other inhabitants of the island trust that they will solve the problems of our daily life, which has been abruptly shaken by international developments.

The proper use of work hours as well as efficiency and savings in all areas are among the main goals of all Cubans in order to advance and to further social development plans. They are making daily efforts to put their new mechanical ingenuity into practice and to find shorter and less expensive paths to reach a goal and to make a more rational distribution of limited resources without neglecting anyone.

Despite difficulties, foreign threats, intensification of the U.S. blockade, and uncertainty created by the supply of petroleum, which is the country's main problem, Cubans are convinced that they are above all obliged to defend the existence of the nation. The patriotic and moral values of the Cubans as well as their spirit of struggle have gained paramount importance, because they are the sole guarantees in our efforts to tackle—with winning possibilities—current and future adversities.

Amid winds and storms, Cubans are struggling to survive and to move forward by implementing very particular measures that reflect the essence of the popular process that began in 1959.

'Manifesto of Harmony' Leader Arrested 20 Dec

PA2312040891 Paris AFP in Spanish 1723 GMT
21 Dec 91

[Text] Havana, 21 Dec, (AFP)—Cuban dissident Indamiro Restano was arrested on the afternoon of 20 December by two agents dressed as civilians and taken to Villa Marista, headquarters of state security. This was announced on 21 December by Elizardo Sanchez Santa Cruz, president of the Cuban Human Rights and National Reconciliation Commission (CCDHRN). Indamiro Restano is president of the illegal social democratic movement, Manifesto of Harmony. He is also the fourth leader of the Cuban Democratic Coalition (CDC)—which comprises 11 dissident organizations—to be arrested in the past three months. The other dissident leaders who have been arrested are: Maria Elena Cruz Varela, Luis Pita Santos, and Jorge Quintana.

Comment on Anniversary of U.S. Panama Invasion

PA2112022091 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish
0000 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Commentary by Ramon Chong]

[Text] The Afro-Asian-Latin American Peoples Solidarity Organization [AALAPSO] condemned in Havana the U.S. interventionist presence in Panama.

AALAPSO Secretary General Rene Anillo Capote, spoke about the social problems, the 4,000 dead, and the number of injured and handicapped caused by the aggression, which still hurts Panama's sovereignty and its right to manage the Panama Canal.

[Begin Anillo recording] On the second anniversary of the invasion, AALAPSO reaffirms its demand for respect for Panama's self-determination and territorial integrity and the fulfillment of the clauses included in the Torrijos-Carter Treaties. We also reiterate our support for the Panamanian people and their legitimate right to the recovery of their territory and national liberation. [end recording]

Manuel Orestes Nieto, former Panamanian ambassador to Cuba and current coordinator of the Panamanian Committee of Resistance Against Occupation, denounced the social instability his people are experiencing. Nieto, who denounced the Yankee invasion of Panama two years ago, explained to Radio Havana Cuba the work currently being done by his organization.

[Begin Nieto recording] We have been publishing the Panama papers, which are bulletins with information about the invasion and the current political situation in the country.

We are now finishing the development of an editorial program to offer main documents that have been processed and investigated in the country, as well as abroad, regarding the invasion of Panama.

I believe that Panama is a rebelling country. Throughout 1991, there have been constant struggles expressed in different ways. The invasion doubtlessly dispersed the patriotic forces; however, those forces have now regrouped. The strikes, protests, marches, and complaints against the government due to the occupation have been constant. In fact, President Endara on one occasion jokingly said that he would strike against the strikes.

Such is the situation in Panama and we believe that on 20 December there will be a Black March for national reflection in the capital. We hope it will be massive and of a great national presence. [end recording]

Further Comment on Invasion

PA2012132991 Havana Radio Havana Cuba in Spanish
0100 GMT 20 Dec 91

["Our America" commentary read by Urbino Amaya]

[Text] Among the Panamanians who woke up in the early morning hours to the sound of bombs and the deployment of U.S. Southern Command troops two years ago, there were many citizens who really thought

the U.S. invasion would save them from what propaganda called national chaos. Among those people were those who thought it was all done in good faith, perhaps for their lack of vision or political culture. There were others who consciously played along with the invaders because they had cooperated with all the destabilizing campaigns that had been encouraged by, paid for, and carried out from the Canal Zone.

Two years after that barbaric action, both groups are deeply disappointed. First we got carried away by the euphoria of change, and now we are living in disillusionment. I believe people are convinced this government will not accomplish anything important, Roberto Eisenman, editor of LA PRENSA, said a short time ago out of frustration.

Certainly time has proven that lawyer Guillermo Endara has done little to improve his image as a man who was sworn in at a U.S. military base. According to a news agency, Endara, better known for his cheerfulness than for his political accomplishments, is described as the absent director of an increasingly out-of-tune orchestra.

The fact is that in Panama everything seems to grow except the economy. Crime is on the rise. Unemployment and poverty among large segments of the population go hand in hand with a lack of justice for those who became homeless orphans or widows overnight as a result of the invasion.

Two years since the foreign aggression, thousands of victims of the bombings are homeless, but the government has also committed the serious sin of keeping the country in a chaotic economic situation where poverty, tension, and social injustice keep increasing.

Unofficial figures show that since the current Panamanian Government came to power, it has paid over \$900 million to cover the interest on its foreign debt, which is more than \$6 billion.

The International Financial Institutions—the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank—also require immediate payment of nearly \$600 million so the country can once again have access to international credits. The authorities are dangerously juggling the well-known adjustment plan in order to receive new money. They want to promote a privatization plan, reform Social Security laws, create new taxes, lower tariffs, and reduce the public sector by making it more efficient. The strategy, however, has been criticized, not only by workers, who are the first to be adversely affected, but also by the industrial and agricultural sectors. In the social sector, there are hundreds of dismissals while the economic plan includes the separation of 22,000 government employees from their jobs to reduce the payroll.

While dismissed workers stage hunger strikes and all types of social mobilizations take place, the country is increasingly dependent on Washington, which gave only a few crumbs after promising millions to compensate for the

invasion. This was not even enough to offset losses from the three years of economic embargo the country suffered.

A political commentator recently said the country is being led to an unfortunate state of poverty to suppress any attempt at self-determination.

The state of political dependence and the poor shape of the economy makes those who supported the government two years ago join the ranks of the disappointed.

Antidrug Agreement Signed With Colombia

PA2112215491 Havana Radio Havana Cuba
in Spanish 0000 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] In Havana on 20 December, Cuba and Colombia signed an agreement of intent to prevent and fight drug trafficking and to exchange information on judicial matters.

Colombian Justice Minister Fernando Carrillo and his Cuban counterpart Carlos Amat signed the document that underscores the importance of joint and coordinated actions among all countries of the international community.

At a news conference following the signing ceremony, Colombian Justice Minister Carrillo said that Cuba is a first-class partner in the struggle against drugs. He added that this is the first time that international cooperation against this scourge has moved from mere rhetoric to concrete steps.

Government, Ukraine Sign Cooperation Agreement

PA2212173391 Havana Radio Havana Cuba
in Spanish 1400 GMT 22 Dec 91

[Text] The Republics of Cuba and The Ukraine have signed their first cooperation, economic, and trade agreement establishing the legal foundations for mutual exchanges in the next three years.

Sources at the Cuban Consulate in Kiev, the Ukrainian capital, reported that the agreement was signed by Ricardo Cabrisas, Cuban foreign trade minister, and A.K. Minchenko, minister of state and vice premier.

According to the text of the signed agreement, the parties stated a strong determination to work on intensifying mutually advantageous links and to finalize business contracts that were recently interrupted because exchanges had to be made through the center.

Haiti

Aristide Accepts Rene Theodore as Prime Minister

PA2212214091 Paris AFP in Spanish 2100 GMT
22 Dec 91

[Text] Port-au-Prince, 22 Dec (AFP)—Ousted Haitian President Jean Bertrand Aristide has accepted Rene

Theodore, leader of the National Construction Movement (MRN), as Haiti's new prime minister, Senate President Dejean Belizaire told AFP today.

Dejean Belizaire, with Congress President Duly Brutus' blessing, had proposed to Bertrand Aristide the names of Marc Bazin (member of the Movement for the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti) as well as that of Theodore (MRN leader and secretary general of the Haitians Unified Communist Party) as possible candidates for prime minister, as a means to get out of the current crisis, the senate president noted.

Belizaire said that the names of 12 personalities—from the social and political sector—as well of Social Democrat Victor Benoit, that were proposed to Father Aristide had been rejected one after the other before arriving at this new stage.

Officials Interviewed on Embassy Occupation

FL2012190391 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil
Network in Creole 1200 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Italicized passages in French]

[Excerpts] The 19 young men and women who have been occupying the premises of the Canadian Embassy since 20 November must leave the embassy and face their responsibilities. This was a statement by Marc Coucineau, a consul at the embassy. Mr. Coucineau said Canada is not ready to grant political asylum or refugee status to these 19 young people. The embassy consul, who said these people do not represent any cause, added that the Canadian Government condemns the action committed against the premises of the embassy.

[Begin Coucineau recording] *There are about 19 persons in the embassy. They do not represent any cause. They do not represent any cause inasmuch as their action has been condemned by all, not only by those of us who do not accept this kind of action and who are not ready to grant political asylum or refugee status to people who present themselves as (?militants), but also by the current governmental authorities. It has been condemned as well by the foreign affairs minister of the constitutional government, Mr. Sabalat. They all deem this act committed by these people as incorrect. Thus, the conclusion that can be drawn is that these people must leave the embassy and face their responsibilities.* [end recording]

Mr. Coucineau further said that on 12 December they managed to install a telephone line that allows them to communicate with people in the country, and representatives of international organizations. The Canadian Embassy consul asserted that the 19 young people called the OAS representative in Haiti, Laurent Paul Tardif, to ask him to intervene in their favor. Mr. Coucineau pointed out that on that score, the OAS representative did not give them a positive answer and that he only urged them to leave the premises of the embassy, while

guaranteeing that the police would grant them respectable treatment in accordance with the country's law. [passage omitted]

The OAS representative in Haiti, Laurent Paul Tardif, who we contacted by telephone, confirmed that he had a conversation with the 19 occupiers of the Canadian Embassy. He explained that the OAS has given him the right to act as a mediator in this matter. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified interviewer] *Mr. Tardif, does this imply that you have had contacts with the Haitian authorities about these occupiers?*

[Tardif] *Certainly. Certainly. That is what I just said. We have been in touch with the Haitian authorities that gave us the guarantees I just enumerated. They also said that those who could possibly be imprisoned following accusations would have the possibility of being visited by representatives of the International Red Cross and/or human rights committees such as the Inter-American Human Rights Committee.* [end recording]

Youths Refuse To Leave

FL2012222291 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil
Network in Creole 1200 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Excerpts] Patrick Moise, one of the 19 young people occupying the Canadian Embassy in Port-au-Prince and the person in charge of international relations for the United Militants Front, has called the news room of Radio Soleil to say that they will not leave the embassy premises, contrary to the requests of Mr. Laurent Paul Tardif, OAS representative to Haiti. They made this decision because they do not believe the assurances given them by the OAS representative, who met with Haitian officials with their demands. The spokesman for those occupying the Canadian Embassy also said that anyone seeking political asylum cannot be tried and added that they would not leave the Canadian Embassy.

[Begin Moise recording] When I contacted OAS representative Paul Tardif, he helped us by asking the International Red Cross to take care of us, he told us that we should leave so we can be tried. I am wondering if anyone seeking political asylum can be tried. In fact, we have done nothing wrong. We are well known. We called Paul Laurent Tardif last evening. He told us that we must.... [rephrases] that we must leave if we want him to take us to the hospital [words indistinct] justice. We asked him, as the OAS representative in Haiti, to help us get some bags of bread so we can (?survive) in the meantime because we think we will (?finally) die here within a few days. He replied that he would bring us some bread while waiting for us to decide to leave. So far, we think these decisions are inhumane. They will uphold these inhumane attitudes because we have decided not to leave where we are now. We prefer to die here. They must grant us political asylum. We will die here or [words indistinct]. That is our decision. [end recording]

The youths' spokesman confirmed that they had contacted the OAS representative in Haiti, Mr. Laurent Paul Tardif, by telephone in order to ask him to intervene in their behalf with the International Red Cross. According to the spokesman, Mr. Laurent Paul Tardif replied that they should leave the embassy and surrender to the Haitian authorities so they could be tried. Patrick Moise declared that they do not intend to leave the embassy and stated that he believes the OAS, the Canadian ambassador to Port-au-Prince, and all ambassadors of the OAS countries can find a solution to this situation. [passage omitted]

The spokesman denied accusations that they had reportedly attacked Canadian diplomats and said that they did not enter the embassy with weapons. They were just looking for political protection because they felt that their lives were in danger. The spokesman further said: It is normal for the current government to condemn their occupation of the Canadian Embassy. When asked about and the foreign affairs minister for the lavalas government [Jean- Robert Sabalat] and Father Aristide's condemnation of their actions, Patrick Moise stated that Father Jean-Bertrand Aristide cannot condemn them because he knows the deposed president from Saint-Jean Bosco.

[Begin Moise recording] (?Due to the current problem which has arisen), and even though he [not further identified] would like to give us some assurance, he will always condemn it because he is a politician. With regard to the ambassador who said that Jean- Bertrand Aristide has condemned our cause, we (?do not believe this to be true) unless they did not tell Aristide who is occupying the embassy because Aristide knows me personally from Saint-Jean Bosco. This means it is not likely that Aristide would condemn us because Aristide knows very well that

(?we know) we would have problems if we attacked a diplomat. We went to the embassy just like any other person seeking help. [end recording]

Trinidad and Tobago

New Manning Cabinet Sworn-in 20 Dec

FL2112002391 Bridgetown CANA in English
2202 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, Dec 20, CANA— Following is the list of Trinidad and Tobago cabinet ministers who were sworn into office on Friday by President Noor Hassanali:

Barry Barnes.....minister of energy and energy industries.
Brian Kuei Tung....minister of trade, industry and tourism.
Russel Huggins.....minister of national security
Wendell Mottley....minister of finance
Kenneth Valley.....minister of local government and minister in the
Ministry of Finance
Ralph Maraj.....minister of foreign affairs.
Jean Pierre.....minister of sports and youth affairs
Dr Linda Baboolal..minister of consumer affairs and social services.
Colm Imbert.....minister of works and transport.
Augustus Ramrekersingh....minister of education.
John Eckstein.....minister of health.
Morris Marshall....minister of public utilities.
Dr Lenny Saith.....minister of planning and development.

Prime Minister Patrick Manning and Attorney General Keith Sobion were sworn in earlier in the week.

El Salvador

Reportage on Honduran Helicopter Downing

Vice President Criticizes Attack

PA2112195591 San Salvador Canal Doce Television
in Spanish 0300 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The government has described the downing of the Honduran helicopter by the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] as irresponsible and warmongering. Vice President Francisco Merino has said that this incident must be investigated. He compared this incident to the downing of the U.S. helicopter this past January, when the guerrillas murdered the crew members in cold blood.

Merino described the guerrilla attack on the Honduran aircraft as irresponsible, adding that the Honduran aircraft was on a regular flight between El Salvador and Tegucigalpa.

[Begin Merino recording] The FMLN acted in an irresponsible manner by indiscriminately attacking the Honduran aircraft. The fact that it was a military aircraft does not mean that the crew members were necessarily involved in military activities. [end recording]

The position of the vice president coincides with the official communique issued by the government, which called the incident a warmongering action by the FMLN. Merino said that the international community will surely condemn the FMLN, particularly if it is determined—after performing an autopsy—that the crew members were executed, as were the U.S. crew members of a similar downing a few months ago.

[Begin Merino recording] The indiscriminate downing of an aircraft cannot be justified, regardless of the FMLN's efforts to justify such action, particularly after their unilateral truce. [end recording]

With respect to the possibility of achieving a cease-fire agreement before the end of the year, Merino stated that it will depend on the willingness of the FMLN because no sector can continue to demand power quotas in the project of the new National Civilian Police [PNC].

[Begin Merino recording] Any Salvadoran citizen will be able to join the PNC as an individual. However, a fixed power quota cannot be tolerated. [passage indistinct] [end recording]

Merino also referred to the eviction of peasants from lands that were illegally occupied. According to him, such actions are justified because the illegal occupation of land has an adverse impact on the right of private property and it is part of destabilization strategies.

Foreign Minister Views Incident

PA2112201891 San Salvador Canal Doce Television
in Spanish 0300 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] On 20 December Foreign Minister Manuel Pacas Castro strongly condemned the downing of the Honduran aircraft. He added that this action reveals the warmongering character of the rebels.

[Begin Pacas recording] First of all, I want to express the government's condemnation for this unjustified action by the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front]. [end recording]

The foreign minister stated that official contacts between the presidents, defense ministers and foreign ministers have been made in order to present condolences to the relatives of the victims. Dr. Pacas Castro described this action as irrefutable proof that the guerrillas have little interest in attaining peace, because this incident violates the truce declared by the rebels.

Meanwhile, in statements to a local radio station, the FMLN claimed that the Honduran helicopter came close to FMLN-controlled areas in a threatening manner and that at the time they could not discern whether the helicopter was Honduran or Salvadoran. Foreign Minister Pacas harshly criticized that explanation.

[Begin Pacas recording] I definitely think that this is a very poor excuse by the FMLN to try to justify this incident, because [words indistinct] this shows that perhaps the FMLN does not have the resolve to respect the unilateral truce that they declared. [end recording]

In addition, the foreign minister explained that the Honduran aircraft drifted away from its original course due to bad weather. He noted, however, that this cannot be termed as a threatening attitude.

In the meantime, Pacas said that El Salvador maintains a cautious position regarding the possibility of establishing diplomatic relations with the new independent Soviet states, given the historical background.

[Begin Pacas recording] There is certainly a change of policy [words indistinct] expansionist policy of the USSR caused the tragedy of the Salvadoran people. We have met many times with representatives of the Soviet Government, especially to keep them up to date on the pacification process. You must remember that the USSR is a permanent member of the UN Security Council. [end recording]

Nonetheless, Pacas said that after the conflict in our country has been resolved, the existing conditions in the former USSR will be analyzed to determine whether to establish diplomatic ties with the new Soviet republics.

END Issues Communique

PA2012160991 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos
in Spanish to El Salvador 1200 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Communique "No. 2" issued by the Staff of the National Army for Democracy, END, on 20 December—place not given]

[Text] 1. As soon as reports on the downing of a Honduran helicopter in areas under our control in Morazan Department were received, the National Army for Democracy (END) contacted the UN Observers for El Salvador and ONUCA [UN Observer Group in Central America], as well as the Honduran and Salvadoran Army Commands to coordinate the evacuation of the crew members who died in the crash. Those contacts resulted in an agreement to facilitate the operation. The Salvadoran Government's Armed Forces committed itself not to obstruct the operation.

2. After suspending the search for the aircraft parts on 19 December, ONUCA helicopters resumed their operations in the early hours of 20 December.

3. Our units which participated in the incident reported that the downed aircraft was a UH-1H. This made it impossible to distinguish it from those used by the Salvadoran Air Force in combat operations, and there was such an operation taking place at the time.

4. The nine crew members who were found during the inspection of the aircraft's debris could not be duly identified as they were trapped inside the helicopter.

5. Intensive combat took place 24 hours before the incident in various parts of Morazan Department, because of the offensive carried out by the Government's Armed Forces, with the participation of the Morazan, Lenca, Arce Battalions, 3d Infantry Brigade, and the elite Ramon Belloso Battalion. This was a warmongering attempt by the Salvadoran High Command to gain military ground, taking advantage of the truce decreed by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front.

6. The END Staff reiterates its condolences to the relatives of the deceased and reaffirms to the Honduran people its desire to see our people marching as brothers toward a future of peace, democracy, and development.

7. Despite the military offensive maintained by the government's Armed Forces in our territories, the END reiterates its intention to maintain the unilateral truce as proof of our strength and political willingness to contribute to give the negotiations currently taking place in New York a favorable framework to attain peace as soon as possible.

[Issued] END Staff, at 0600 on 20 December 1991

'Will Not Affect' Peace Talks

PA2012224491 Paris AFP in Spanish 1705 GMT
20 Dec 91

[Text] New York, 20 Dec (AFP)—Oscar Santamaria, Salvadoran minister of the Presidency, said on 20 December that he feels the downing of a Honduran Air Force helicopter by the Salvadoran rebels "will not affect the negotiations in New York."

The Salvadoran minister, who heads his government's delegation to the negotiations in New York, told AFP that "we condemn and reject this attack against an aircraft of a nation with which we have cordial relations. This clearly shows that the unilateral truce of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front does not exist."

This incident will not affect the negotiations "that are being held within the agreements previously defined," Santamaria pointed out.

The talks moved to UN headquarters on 16 December to negotiate a definite solution to the Salvadoran civil war, which began over 11 years ago.

The guerrillas confirmed that the helicopter was downed on 19 December in Morazan Department and that the nine Honduran soldiers in the aircraft were killed. The FMLN also regretted the incident, saying that the rebels did not know it was a Honduran aircraft.

The helicopter was shot down about 14 km from the Honduran border, in an area where the guerrillas and soldiers have been engaged in heavy combat since 18 December, the FMLN reported on 19 December.

On 16 November, the guerrilla leadership unilaterally ended its warlike activities. The Salvadoran Government, however, answered the FMLN gesture by only suspending bombings and the use of heavy artillery.

FMLN Warns U.S. Embassy on Using Army Cover

PA2012044391 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos
in Spanish to El Salvador 0000 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Communique issued by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, FMLN, in Cabanas Department on 19 December]

[Text] 1. On 19 December, at 0830 in the morning, END [National Army for Democracy] units were conducting political activities in San Lorenzo Canton and El Volcan, jurisdiction of Sensuntepeque; and in Las Bermudas Canton and El Zapote, located in the jurisdiction of Villa Victoria.

2. At 1045, END units ambushed a finance police vehicle traveling from Villa Victoria toward Sensuntepeque, near El Caracol Canton. We are unaware of the number of casualties our forces inflicted on those troops.

3. We report that at the same time our units were conducting their political activity, two UH-1H helicopters carrying U.S. Embassy personnel were traveling from San Salvador to Villa Victoria.

4. At 1100, commando units from Military Detachment No. 2 arrived at the ambush site and started firing at vehicles stationed in the area. There were several members of the U.S. Embassy security personnel among the military detachment troops.

5. We call upon U.S. Embassy personnel to refrain from using Salvadoran Armed Forces transportation facilities while transiting through territories under the control of the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] without notifying the FMLN.

[Issued] Northern Zone Headquarters, Cabanas Department, 19 December 1991

Army Calls FMLN Truce Decree 'Deceitful'

PA2112035491 San Salvador EL DIARIO DE HOY
in Spanish 19 Dec 91 p 2

[Text] The Army stated on 18 December that the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] "truce" is deceitful and reported on terrorist activities that have caused members of left-wing groups and civilians to be killed or wounded.

Spokesmen from the Defense Ministry denounced the incidents and said that, "while FMLN Staff members are 'negotiating' in New York with government representatives, the groups that form that terrorist organization have intensified their attacks in several parts of the country."

The sources added that the "truce" announced on 16 November is only a propaganda campaign.

They reported that three young men were kidnapped at an FMLN barricade on the La Cascada detour, Jocoro, Morazan Department. The three men were kidnapped by the terrorist groups for "recruitment" purposes to "enlarge their fighting corps."

The FMLN issued a "communique" on the morning of 18 December stating that "without breaking the truce, the FMLN resumes its military activities with selective attacks in different parts of the country."

The FMLN leaders, who are meeting in New York with the government delegation, were asked about this communique but refused to comment because they apparently had no knowledge of it.

Military sources said that, in light of the threat, terrorist acts could be intensified after 19 December.

Guatemala

Officials Reject Reduction of Army Forces

PA2212201991 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE
in Spanish 19 Dec 91 pp 4, 10

[Report by Alvaro Galvez Mis]

[Text] Government officials have stated that Guatemala will not accept any conditions on foreign aid in exchange for a reduction in the Army. They also warned that they are not willing to discuss this topic as long as there is an armed conflict in the country.

Foreign Minister Gonzalo Menendez Park; Defense Minister General Jose Domingo Garcia Samayoa; and Manuel Conde Orellana, secretary general of the Presidency, reiterated the government position, which rejects conditions and especially pressures to make it reduce the national defense budget.

During the presidential summit in Tegucigalpa, the executive director of UNICEF and William H. Draper, administrator of the UN Development Program (UNDP), said military budgets in the Central American countries should be cut by 50 percent to enable these funds to be used to solve the enormous social problems in the region.

What comes to mind, Foreign Minister Menendez Park said, is that Guatemala, which is located in northern Central America, has the best organized and most professional army, but is also the smallest army and the one that absorbs the least amount of money from the general budget.

In any case, the foreign minister stressed, we cannot at any moment speak of the reduction of the army, because we have internal conflicts forcing us to have a professional and organized army with the responsibility of defending the national sovereignty.

For the time being, Menendez said, we are not willing to negotiate the reduction of armies because, in the case of Guatemala, it is an institution with significant importance and we need it. We will not accept foreign aid conditions "based on the principle of the reduction of armies."

We hope the Central American countries will understand that we are experiencing an internal conflict and that we cannot discuss this issue. During the Tegucigalpa summit, he added, Guatemala clearly stated that it will not accept conditions in exchange for foreign aid.

Any request in this regard will be rejected, because it would be inopportune in view of the fact that Guatemala is confronting insurgent groups that threaten the democratic process in the country, Menendez said.

Defense Minister Gen. Garcia Samayoa, one of the members of the delegation to the peace talks with the

Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG), explained his position on the request from international organizations.

Gen. Garcia said the request is undoubtedly opportune for countries with sophisticated military equipment and with military budgets that absorb most of the government funds. Those armies also have many members, something that is not the case with the Guatemalan Army.

The Guatemalan Army is totally defensive. It has few soldiers and a small amount of equipment. We are dedicated exclusively to the defense of national sovereignty, as established by the country's constitution.

Gen. Garcia Samayoa also referred to efforts by the government to promote a climate of permanent peace in the area, the reason it has proposed signing a total peace agreement with the URNG. For the time being, he said, we are engaged in an armed conflict with insurgent groups that want to seize power through force.

These groups, which do not want to recognize that Marxism-Leninism has failed, refuse to sign a peace pact. The defense minister stressed that these actions show it is necessary to maintain a professional and well organized army.

Manuel Conde Arellana, chief of the government delegation in the dialogue with the URNG, said "Guatemala is a very particular case in comparison with the other countries, which have large armies with a great deal of offensive materiel and which receive international aid."

Unfortunately, he said, the Guatemalan Army has not had the international support other countries have been given. One need only visit several Central American airports to see the number of helicopters and other military equipment owned by the armed forces of countries such as Nicaragua, Honduras, and El Salvador, he said.

Conde added: In Guatemala, the Army has had to develop a high level of creativity to counteract the actions by rebel groups, which have received international support, mainly financial. In some years, he said, the rebels received military and technical advice to carry out their illegal actions.

Therefore, the government is not worried about the topic of military disarmament, because the Army is small and it is more a matter of talking about its increase.

Regarding foreign aid conditions, the secretary general of the Presidency, said: "I would view this as blackmail, as an action to pressure the Central American governments to reduce their armament. Unfortunately, this feeling is not shared by other Central American countries, because it is very easy for a country that does not have guerrillas or insurgent actions to talk about the reduction of weapons."

I believe, Conde said, speaking about the reduction of armies just for the sake of doing so is neither honest nor loyal. A project of this nature should be done multilaterally, and should reflect the internal situation of each of the countries.

World Community Asked To Stop Arms Shipments

PA2112232291 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish
0750 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Report by Jose Luis Castillejos]

[Text] Guatemala City, 18 Dec (NOTIMEX)—On 18 December Defense Minister Domingo Garcia Samayoa asked the international community to stop shipping weapons to Guatemala so that peace and national reconciliation can be secured shortly.

General Garcia Samayoa said to NOTIMEX: "It is difficult to attain peace while Belgian MAG machine guns, Russian M-60 and AK-47 rifles, Chinese grenade launchers, German G-3 rifles, submachine guns, mortars, and mini-Uzis continue to enter Guatemalan territory." The military officer presented more than 2,500 weapons, Claymore mines, radios, and other war materiel seized from the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG). He reported that the Armed Forces had confiscated a document saying that URNG Commander Pablo Monsanto (Jorge Ismael Soto Garcia) was sending \$5,000 to the rebels operating in various parts of Guatemala. Garcia Samayoa claimed that the Guatemalan Army had information on the countries that finance the guerrillas but refused to give names to avoid diplomatic problems.

On another topic, the defense minister rejected UNICEF's proposal to reduce the size of the Guatemalan Army. "We cannot talk about a reduction while rebels and international drug traffickers continue to threaten our safety," he said. Garcia Samayoa pointed out that the Guatemalan Army is "small" and that its "weapons are defensive, not offensive." UNICEF's recommendation, he said, concerns those countries whose armies have troops in excess of the number established by international standards. The defense minister refused to disclose the number of soldiers in the Guatemalan Army or the size of the military budget. Before talking about a reduction of the Army, it would be appropriate to broach the topic of a "demobilization of the rebels," as they are responsible for the tragedy suffered by the Guatemalan people, he asserted. He said Guatemala will not reveal how many soldiers or weapons it has because "we are not in a state of war." What is true, he added, is that the Army has enough strength to defend its sovereignty by sea, air, or land.

The defense minister declared that the government is willing to continue the talks with the URNG to attain a firm and lasting peace. He denied that the peace process is blocked or that the five previous rounds of talks have

failed. Gen. Garcia Samayoa said that what had happened was that the talks were stalled when the URNG mentioned the human rights topic.

During the last round of talks in Mexico in November, the process did indeed experience difficulties when the guerrillas denounced that repression in Guatemala is institutionalized. In this respect, the defense minister asked the URNG to take a more flexible position to be able to advance in the talks as "Guatemalans do not want war." He highlighted the work done by National Reconciliation Commission President Monsignor Rodolfo Quezada Toruno and UN Observer Francesco Vendrell in the consultation process that involves "meeting with each party individually".

The defense minister estimated that a peace agreement could be signed with the guerrillas next year and added that the government has the political will to reach this agreement immediately.

He denied that several departments, bordering with Mexico, will be militarized to curb the presence of rebel forces in Indian communities. Garcia Samayoa also denied that the Army holds forced recruitments to fill its ranks and said that the Armed Forces have not authorized the formation of new Civilian Self-Defense Patrols.

He said that the guerrillas do not have a reason to exist as "Marxism-Leninism did not fill the Guatemalan people's stomachs and we can no longer stay behind in the race for development."

Honduras

President Callejas Discusses State of Economy

PA2212203491 Tegucigalpa Voz de Honduras Network in Spanish 1145 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Report on interview with President Rafael Callejas by Julio Armando Valdes; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [Valdes] President Rafael Callejas has said that the central government of the republic has the economy under control. We asked him: What does that control consist of?

[Begin Callejas recording] In keeping with our goals, figures issued by the Central Bank of Honduras show that we have controlled inflation. I urge Hondurans not to measure inflation on the basis of one product, but in general terms. Accumulated inflation for the past six months was 4.5 percent; fiscal deficit was reduced to less than 4.5 percent; the level of reserves was maintained; and public expenditures were reduced. We registered a 1 percent growth rate this year, and are ready to promote economic growth with increased dynamism in 1992. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Valdes] The Chamber of Commerce has strongly criticized these economic measures, claiming that the people and not the government have been sacrificed.

[Begin Callejas recording] Each sector has its own outlook on things. I am simply saying that there must be an arbiter or judge in the process of analyzing the state of the economy in Honduras, someone who establishes the macroeconomic concepts. We have subjected ourselves to an IMF economic program, and the IMF described our program as excellent.

I base my conclusions on the fact that we reduced expenditures by percentages and through adjustments, and the fiscal deficit stands at between 4.2 and 4.3 percent. The figures are there. They are overwhelming and reliable evidence of our actions.

The private sector obviously believes that public expenditures must continue to drop. The problem is that we must make adjustments to benefit the poor. We increased the budgets for education, health, housing, and infrastructure, and we reduced the budgets for other government activities. We cannot reduce them much more beyond current levels, however.

We have for many years grown accustomed to measuring public expenditures as a ratio of a decreasing GNP. We now face a positive development: Now, beginning in 1992, we must measure public expenditures as a ratio of an increasing GNP. In the future, the general rule will be to establish the amount of fiscal deficit in the economy, because the deficit could drop even though the budget is increased. That is the important figure: How much does the government spend as a ratio of the rest of the national economy? Specific figures are derived from this information.

For example, one of the countries on the American continent facing the most problems is Peru. Its GNP...[pauses] its budgeted expenditures as a ratio of GNP is 19 percent. In Honduras, when I was installed, the budget of the republic was 60 percent of GNP. We are not planning to reduce...[pauses] and the basic thing is that the budget be balanced, and that it serve as an instrument of development and not as a creator of fiscal crisis, because that is our main problem.

Thus, the private sector must define specific parameters in this regard. I agree with them that the reduction of the public sector is still an essential element. We must now view this reduction as a ratio of GNP growth and base this measurement on the fiscal deficit, however. [end recording] [passage omitted]

President Callejas on Helicopter Downing

Routine, Not Military Operation

PA2112030891 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2335 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 20 Dec (ACAN-EFE)—Honduran President Rafael Callejas stated 20 December that the helicopter destroyed by Salvadoran guerrillas on 19

December, in which nine Honduran servicemen died, was not participating in any type of military operation inside El Salvador.

Callejas pointed out that the "UH-1H" type aircraft, manufactured in the United States, was on a "routine mission near the border region and inside Honduran territory." He added that because of bad weather conditions, the aircraft was forced to change its flight path and fly over Salvadoran territory.

The Honduran president denied there would be a change in diplomatic relations with El Salvador because of the incident.

The remains of the Honduran servicemen were recovered 20 December. After arriving in Tegucigalpa at 1600 local time the bodies were immediately taken to the Medical Legal Department for the required autopsy.

A heartbreaking scene took place at the Tegucigalpa judicial morgue, where the servicemen's relatives were gathered.

A FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] commander restated from Mexico that the helicopter was heavily armed with two M-60 machine guns. This version was rejected by the Honduran Foreign Ministry, which described the whole incident as a "criminal act."

The helicopter was downed at 1045 local time on 19 December in the Corinto region, Morazan Department, bordering Honduras. The FMLN has pointed out that during the past days heavy fighting has taken place in this region between the Salvadoran Armed Forces and guerrilla units.

The FMLN maintains that its fighters believed the helicopter was a Salvadoran Air Force aircraft and that is why they shot it down with "their rifles."

However, the Armed Forces contends that the helicopter was "deliberately destroyed with a surface-to-air missile."

Traveling in the helicopter were Colonel Danilo Carvajal, commander of the 10th Infantry Battalion, stationed in Marcala Department, La Paz, which borders El Salvador. The other Honduran servicemen include Major Pablo Fernando Rapalo, Captain Rolando Lara Pudes, Captain Marco Tulio Valladares, Sergeant Jose Javier Torres, and Sergeant Efraim Mejia Aguilera.

The helicopter crew were Lieutenant Junior Grade Jaime Enrique Prieto (pilot), Lt. (jg) Marvin Cabanas (co-pilot), and Lt. (jg) Jose de los Santos Gonzalez (flight engineer).

The Honduran Armed Forces will pay "military respects" to the servicemen, "who fell in the line of duty." The FMLN expressed its "deepest regrets" to the servicemen's relatives.

Confirms in 'Area of Conflict'

PA2012195191 Mexico City NOTIMEX in Spanish
1853 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 20 Dec (NOTIMEX)—Honduran President Rafael Leonardo Callejas confirmed on 20 December that the Honduran Air Force helicopter shot down on 19 December by the Salvadoran guerrillas was in an "area of conflict."

In a news conference, the Honduran president noted that the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] regretted the incident and said: "We realize this was an area of conflict."

Callejas insisted that it was urgent to transfer the bodies to Tegucigalpa, and he pointed out that the Armed Forces have appointed a commission to investigate this "tragic incident."

The Armed Forces Public Relations Directorate pointed out on 19 December that the helicopter "had an accident" during the afternoon on a "routine flight" in an area bordering El Salvador.

However, in a broadcast of the clandestine Radio Venceremos, the FMLN conceded that it had shot down the aircraft because it was mistaken for a Salvadoran Army aircraft.

President Callejas said that he has spoken with his Salvadoran counterpart, Alfredo Cristiani, who expressed his condolences.

President Callejas reiterated his hope that the peace talks being held in New York will lead to peace in El Salvador, a country at war for over 11 years.

"I hope there will soon be peace in El Salvador, and that peace will be found in its society so as to resolve the conflict that has caused so much bloodshed and sorrow in El Salvador and now in Honduras," Callejas concluded.

Nicaragua

President Grants Amnesty for Political Crimes

PA2212235691 Managua Sistema Nacional de
Television Network in Spanish 2209 GMT 22 Dec 91

["Text" of Decree No. 4791 signed by President Violeta Chamorro in Managua on 22 December; read by Deputy Presidency Minister Jose Adan Guerra—recorded]

[Text] Decree-Law No. 4791.

The president of the Republic of Nicaragua, considering:

1. That the government program establishes that one of its main goals is to achieve a national pledge to promote reconciliation among Nicaraguans, build democracy and peace, and overcome the country's prevailing crisis;

2. That the economic stability that has been achieved now requires among Nicaraguans the consolidation of peace, which has been disturbed by various violations of public order and peace by individuals who support a variety of political causes;

3. That the perpetrators of these incidents have been, to a certain degree, incited to violence by the aftermath of a fratricidal war that deeply divided the Nicaraguan family, which has inherited the polarization and confrontation that we must now overcome;

4. The national dialogue that we are about to initiate would be greatly strengthened by a broad and unconditional amnesty for Nicaraguans involved in such incidents.

Therefore, using the powers conferred by the National Assembly, through an (?annual) decree-law that delegates legislative functions, dated 13 December 1991, decrees the following:

Amnesty Law, Article 1

Grant a broad and unconditional amnesty for all political and related common crimes perpetrated by Nicaraguans from 10 May 1990 up to the date of publication of this law. This amnesty includes those who are in jail, prosecuted, sentenced, pending trial, uncaptured, convicted, those (?who have served their sentences), and those who have been favored with pardons.

Article 2

Authorities who have prisoners covered by this amnesty in their custody and jurisdiction must release them immediately.

Article 3

All authorities who have Nicaraguans in their custody will send to the Government Ministry a detailed list of their names and the reasons for their arrest. This list must be sent within seven days after the publication of this law so that it can be confirmed that the beneficiaries of this law will not remain under arrest at these jails or detention centers.

Article 4

This law will go into effect when it is published by any media source, without affecting its later publication in the Official Gazette.

Given in the city of Managua on 22 December 1991.

[Signed] Violeta Barrios Chamorro, president of the Republic of Nicaragua.

Recontra Leader Signs Christmas Truce Document

PA2112232191 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish
21 Dec 91 pp 1, 12

[Report by Guillermo Cortes Dominguez]

[Text] San Rafael del Norte, Jinotega—The recontra leader Jose Angel Moran Flores, a.k.a. Indomable, signed a document here on 20 December pledging to declare a Christmas truce that will last until 3 January.

The pledge was signed with Government Minister Carlos Hurtado, who demanded that the rebel stop his attacks, which have been frightening a large number of people in Jinotega Department.

Residents of Wiwili have reported that the recontras might be armed with Redeye surface-to-air missiles with which they could be preparing an attack on helicopters belonging to the United Nations Observer Group in Central America to provoke a military intervention. The sources, who asked not to be identified, are afraid that the use of this type of weapon might thwart the peace efforts in the region.

The meeting between Moran and the government minister was also attended by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo of the Verification Commission; Monsignor Eddy Montenegro; and the mayors of Jinotega, Yali, La Concordia, San Rafael del Norte, Quilali, Pantasma, and La Trinidad. A delegation of coffee growers and a transportation delegation were also present. The latter have been greatly harmed by the indiscriminate attacks on passenger and cargo vehicles in the past few days.

Moran Flores, the recontra who has caused the most trouble for the people of Jinotega, continues to demand that General Humberto Ortega be removed and that the country be demilitarized "to turn Nicaragua into a civilian society similar to that of Costa Rican society," he said.

During the meeting, Moran also demanded that all confiscated properties be returned to their rightful owners. He said he expects concrete answers by 3 January.

As part of the efforts to attain peace in this terrorized region, the recontra leaders who disagree completely with Moran's stand will meet on Sunday 22 December.

The truce signed here does not appear genuine to the people because on previous occasions, Moran has failed to comply with agreements and instead has unleashed violence against civilian and military targets.

One of the coffee growers who participated in the meeting said that the crop is in peril because the transporters are afraid and refuse to drive into some coffee-producing areas.

UNO Radicals React To Call for Talks

PA2212140391 Managua BARRICADA in Spanish
21 Dec 91 pp 1, 12

[Report by Roberto Larios]

[Text] The radical sector of the National Opposition Union [UNO] reacted with skepticism on 20 December

to the call from Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo to hold a national dialogue in January. The dialogue could help to eliminate the polarization in the country.

National Conservative Party [PNC] Deputy Edmundo Castillo told BARRICADA: "We are considering whether to attend the dialogue. We have to define some specifics things first. For example, who will participate in the dialogue? Are they opposition or official?"

According to Castillo, in order to participate in the dialogue "we must first know where the government's support is; whether it is in the official or opposition party."

Castillo said the chiefs of the 14 parties and the leaders of the UNO bloc at the National Assembly will meet in Montelimar on 22 December at the invitation of Alfredo Cesar, "to make a joint evaluation of what has happened this year in the social, political, and economic fields."

Castillo does not hide the fact that the uncertainty of the UNO radical sector regarding the national dialogue is due to the appearance of a group of centrist deputies.

"Now, with the appearance of this group of centrist deputies—which we call 'The Bukys'—we have to define whether we are a majority or minority party," said Castillo.

In that regard, Roberto Lacayo, president of the Conservative Popular Action (APC) party, said "we say what Julio Icaza Tijerino told Antonio Lacayo at the meeting about the dialogue: That he and the other nine should stop calling themselves UNO members and clearly state that they are Sandinists."

Lacayo admitted—bitterly—that the Sandinists and the nine "have taken control of the Congress away from us."

Edmundo Castillo said "the Assembly was the people's last hope," but after losing the battle of the property law, "we have been forced to analyze our current position and to define strategies and policies for next year."

The deputy added "that is why the PNC first wants a dialogue between the executive branch and the UNO, to demand a change in the political structures, the discharge of General Humberto Ortega, and other similar things."

The conservative members of the PNC also believe that before going to the dialogue they must discuss "the various sectors' record of fulfilling agreements, so that there is some guarantee that whatever is signed will be fulfilled." There is a profound lack of credibility for the Sandinist National Liberation Front, because "they did not fulfill their government program or their own laws."

Lacayo said "it is never too late for dialogue, but the main thing, regarding economics, is for the producer to trust that his goods will be returned to him."

Deputy Castillo rejected the differentiation made by Presidency Minister Antonio Lacayo between the abuses of "El Indomable" [Jose Angel Moran Flores] and the proposals made by other recontra members such as "Dimas" [Francisco Baldivia] and "Tigrillo" [Encarnacion Valdivia].

According to Castillo, "the existence of different criteria is logical in a movement or party that is based on democracy" because they do not work "like the Stalinist organizations."

Castillo said that "the recontras are a democratic movement, and it is logical for them to have differences among themselves. It is just like the UNO parties; some say they will go to the dialogue, others say they will not go." He added that "the government did not fulfill its promises to the Nicaraguan Resistance, and that is the reason for the situation in Matagalpa Department; the recontras are right."

Castillo downplayed the importance of the economic achievements announced by Antonio Lacayo. "The producer is not satisfied. There is no legal security or guarantee for investment, because the last hope was Law 133," he said.

Asked why the government received so much financial support from the Paris Club and the international banks, Castillo answered: "The news in that regard is confusing. Antonio Lacayo said the debt was reduced by 75 percent, (French President) Mitterrand said the reduction was 50 percent."

Then, asked whether the UNO "Political Council" is studying disciplinary measures against the group of centrist deputies, Roberto Lacayo said that "there is a commitment to try to rescue them from Sandinism; for the time being, we are not planning to punish them."

Panama

Explosive Device Thrown at U.S. Embassy

PA2112035591 Paris AFP in Spanish 0321 GMT
21 Dec 91

[Text] Panama City, 20 Dec (AFP)—Unidentified individuals threw an explosive device at the U.S. Embassy in Panama on the evening of 20 December. There were no injuries, but there was property damage, the police reported.

The device exploded at the U.S. Embassy air conditioner transformer at around 2000. Several windows were destroyed, according to Idelfonso Suira, chief of criminal investigation of the Technical Judicial Police (PTJ).

The embassy guard said he saw a Soviet-made Lada vehicle go by near the building and then he heard the explosion.

No one has claimed responsibility for the attack. This incident is similar to an attack against the U.S. Embassy

at the beginning of the year, which the clandestine 20 December Movement claimed responsibility.

Even though the Panamanian authorities deny the existence of this movement, announcements made by the group have been circulating in Panama City. The organization is reportedly composed of former collaborators of the General Manuel Noriega regime, which was deposed on 20 December 1989 by U.S. troops.

On 20 December, during the conclusion of a march staged by government opponents criticizing the U.S. military invasion, several residents of El Chorrillo, a Panama City neighborhood destroyed during the action, threw molotov cocktails at police vehicles, but no damage was caused.

M-20 Claims Responsibility

PA211204491 Panama City ACAN in Spanish
0403 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] Panama City, 20 Dec (ACAN-EFE)—A police spokesman has reported that a bomb exploded at the U.S. Embassy in Panama on 20 December, but caused only slight damage. This is the second anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Panama.

Shortly after the explosion occurred, and before it had been reported by the media, 20 December National Liberation Movement (M-20) left a communique at the ACAN-EFE offices indicating that the movement was responsible for the attack.

The M-20, a mysterious organization whose existence was reported a few months ago by government officials, states in a communique that is "calling the attention" of the public to the situation in Panama "by means of an attack on the seat of the invading power."

On 20 December, several protest activities were conducted in Panama to mark the invasion that overthrew General Manuel Antonio Noriega, including a peaceful demonstration staged by several thousand people. At the end of the demonstration, a group of unidentified individuals set fire to two vehicles.

'Big Black March' To Mark Invasion Anniversary

PA2012174391 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE
PANAMA in Spanish 20 Dec 91 p A1

[Article by Claudio Herrera and James Aparicio]

[Text] The Big Black March—which begins at 1600 on 20 December at Porras Plaza—and a walk from Panama to the United States—which is being organized by movements for peace and against war—highlight the events to commemorate the second anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Panama.

Isabel Corro, president of the Committee of Relatives of the 20 December Casualties, will lead the march and,

according to the Committee of the War Refugees from El Chorrillo, "no one will be forgotten; nothing will be forgotten."

The commemorative activities began with the unveiling of a monument to the victims in a ceremony that was held at 1000 on 18 December in front of the House of Stone, in El Chorrillo.

On that same day, the Committee of the War Refugees from El Chorrillo held a political-cultural event on the patio of the 24 December Building at 1800.

On 19 December, the committee urged the people of El Chorrillo to display black flags on their balconies in memory of the victims of "Operation Just Cause," which was carried out for the purpose of taking the former Defense Forces Commander Manuel Antonio Noriega to the United States.

"We have decided that it will not just be the government of Endara, Arias Calderon, and Ford—who took the oath of office on Fort Clayton—who will see us and listen to us on the day they call the Day of Reflection, but which we call the Day of National Mourning, the committee emphasized.

At 1400 on 19 December, a vigil with burning candles began at the Cinco de Mayo Plaza. A column of children, wearing black sweaters with the message "No more war," participated in the vigil.

On the morning of 20 December, the committee members are planning to picket in front of the UN offices to demand attention to "our demand for compensation from the U.S. Government."

Workers' groups, the National Council of Dismissed Workers, and the Committee of War Refugees from El Chorrillo have confirmed their participation in the Big Black March, which will begin at 1600.

The Big Black March will reach El Chorrillo at 1900 where a rally will be held.

March Peacefully Held

PA2112022291 Panama City Circuito RPC Television
in Spanish 2300 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] The great black march began late this afternoon. Its objective was primarily aimed at rejecting the U.S. invasion, which occurred exactly two years ago.

Carrying posters and shouting antigovernment and anti-U.S. slogans, the demonstrators began their march in Plaza Porras. They pushed on through Calidonia and Cinco de Mayo Plaza, and are expected to reach the neighborhood of El Chorrillo, where they will participate in a main event, featuring different speakers, who will address those assembled.

During the march this afternoon, there was a marked attendance of members of the Democratic Revolutionary Party and former collaborators of the military regime.

The relatives of those who fell on 20 December 1989 demanded justice from the government of President Guillermo Endara.

Up until this report, the black march was being held peacefully, without violent incidents.

The march by relatives of the 20 December 1989 victims and by politicians and mass organizations has just passed Santa Ana Park, where the demonstrators continued to shout slogans against the government of President Guillermo Endara and against the United States.

The demonstrators, dressed in black, peacefully marched, carrying posters alluding to the 20 December invasion. It has been reported that the march will end in El Chorrillo, where a stage has been set up, on which various speakers will deliver their messages in commemoration of those killed during the incidents that took place in this neighborhood, where the headquarters of the defunct Panama Defense Forces was located.

Thousands Participate

PA2112041891 Panama City Circuito RPC Radio
in Spanish 0237 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Report by Luis Enrique Vasquez]

[Text] Several thousand Panamanians demonstrated 20 December in the so-called Black March against the U.S. invasion of Panama two years ago. [Crowd chants: "Justice! justice! justice! Two years since the invasion, where is the solution?"] Demanding justice and a solution for the victims of the 20 December 1989 invasion, thousands of people took part in the so-called Black March to commemorate the second anniversary of the armed action.

The march began at approximately 1630 from Porras Park and continued along Central Avenue. Delegations taking part in the march were from the Association of Relatives of Invasion Casualties; the National Central Organization of Panamanian Workers; the National Council of Dismissed Workers, Conade; groups from Chiriqui and Colon Provinces, San Blas Intendancy, and the foreign delegation Pilgrimage for Peace and Life [Peregrinacion por la Paz y la Vida] that includes Buddhist monks and pacifists of various nationalities.

The caravan, characterized by black dress to symbolize mourning and grief, started with about 3,000 people. But as it made its way down Central Avenue, several hundred persons joined the demonstrators, who carried banners and shouted slogans to protest the events of two years ago, especially their grief for the innocent victims of the armed action.

There were no incidents throughout the march and from the beginning marchers were escorted by National Police Traffic Department motorcycles. The march ended with a political rally at 27th Street, where Hector Collado, Chorrillo neighborhood leader, spoke. Other speakers were Mrs. Isabel Corro, representing the Association of Relatives of Invasion Casualties, and Magdala de Colamarco, representing relatives of political prisoners and others. When their turn came, each speaker expressed his grief for the events that took place two years ago and demanded that the government take a more definite stance to satisfy the demands of the victims of the armed incidents that took place that night. The speakers spoke out against what they called the occupation of national territory and spoke in favor of total sovereignty.

[Begin Corro recording] Not only do we defend the cause of the dead, because the fatherland comes before the dead—the fatherland and the dead are entwined. They say history will define whether it was an invasion or a war. But that is not true because they have disowned their dead. To disown the dead is to disown history, and to disown history is to disown the fatherland. Therefore, they can hardly be expected to govern properly. [end recording]

Endara on Invasion, Commission Resignations

PA2012212791 Panama City Telemetro Television
Network in Spanish 1720 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] This is the second anniversary of the U.S. invasion of Panama. For the second consecutive year, the government has declared 20 December a day of national reflection. In that regard, President Endara has said that historians, and not his government, must determine what occurred that day. Endara denied having assumed his post at a U.S. base, saying it occurred on Panamanian soil.

[Begin Endara recording] The invasion, or Operation Just Cause, was an exclusive decision of the U.S. Government. We did not suggest it, request it, or consent to it. The government is not the one called to judge historical facts. Historians, commentators, and columnists are the ones who must evaluate historical facts. It is not the government's function to leave historical landmarks by saying things happened one way or the other. I believe the government must govern, not write history. [end recording]

Endara said he regrets the resignation of the clergymen who had been entrusted with reviewing boxes of documents of the former Defense Forces.

[Begin Endara recording] I am really sorry. However, I respect their decision. It was a difficult position. I understand that such a difficult position can scare anyone, even a clergyman. Regretfully, without a commission composed of persons like these clergymen, who are accustomed to the secrets of the confessional, we will suffer a lot in Panama. This resignation will cause much suffering in Panama because, if those documents are

published, they will greatly harm our society. I believe that perhaps the consequences of such resignations were not sufficiently thought out. However, I have no other choice than to accept the resignations. There is nothing I can do; the resignations are irrevocable. I respect their decision but, as I said, I am afraid that it will greatly harm Panama. [end recording]

Foreign Minister on U.S. Helicopter Overflight

PA2012200391 Panama City Telemetro Television
Network in Spanish 1720 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Foreign Minister Julio Linares expressed surprise at U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton's explanation of why a U.S. helicopter overflew various areas of the capital.

Nothing is as sensitive to a nation as its sovereignty. On 6 December, a U.S. Southern Command helicopter overflew various areas of Panama City. This action prompted a formal protest from the Panamanian Government and a statement by the foreign minister that our national sovereignty had been violated.

Foreign Minister Julio Linares sent a protest note to U.S. Ambassador Deane Hinton. The aircraft, which hovered around government buildings such as the Presidency and the Attorney General's Office, did not have permission from Panamanian authorities to do so.

In his reply, the U.S. ambassador regretted the incident but reiterated to the Foreign Ministry that the Civil Aeronautics Board had authorized the flight.

[Begin recording] [Linares] We received a reply from the Foreign Ministry... [pauses] from the U.S. Embassy regretting the incident. However, the protest note... [pauses] the reply to the protest note said that the U.S. helicopter that overflew our city followed a flight pattern that the Civil Aeronautics Board knew about. This is very strange, because the first thing I did was to contact the Civil Aeronautics Board, which said that no notification had been received. Therefore, as a responsible official, I have sent a copy of Ambassador Hinton's reply to the Civil Aeronautics Board and requested clarification.

[Reporter] Do you believe the explanation? Is it acceptable?

[Linares] I cannot say if I believe the explanation or not. Civil Aeronautics told me that there was no authorization. The U.S. Embassy claims that the helicopter followed a U.S. flight pattern... [pauses] authorized by Civil Aeronautics. This is strange. I find it strange that a flight pattern would permit a helicopter to hover for several minutes over the Presidency of the Republic, the National Lottery building, and the University of Panama. It seems strange to me. [end recording]

Cuban 'Interference' in Country Detailed

PA2112022791 Panama City EL PANAMA AMERICA
in Spanish 18 Dec 91 p 16

[Part three of article by Juan Carlos Galesio Navarro]

[Text] The recent articles published by this analyst have revealed Cuban interference and intelligence activities in Panama.

The explosive article have resounded in diverse circles, leaving the Cuban Government mute. That government has not dared to refute a single word.

Reports from very reliable diplomatic sources state that the Israeli mercenary Mike Harari, who maintained contact with General Torrijos' regime from 1968 as a member of the Mossad, was operating out of Mexico City in 1980. Felipe Camargo, the liaison between Cuban and Panamanian intelligence, met Mike Harari in businessman Alberto Pons' residence in 1979.

Pons, a native Cuban and a naturalized Panamanian, currently resides in the Obarrio neighborhood. He owns the McGregor garment factory. Pons also travels constantly to the United States and is a representative of the National Bank of Cuba in Panama.

Harari's contacts with the Cubans through several channels increased to the point that in 1985 he sought to make direct contact with Fidel Castro himself, claiming to have the Israeli Government's authorization to do so.

A representative of Cuba's America Department named Dieguez traveled to the isthmus on several occasions to meet with Harari to ascertain why he wanted to meet with Castro.

Harari said there was interest in talking with Castro because the Cuban president is a leader among the nonaligned countries. Harari also said that the Israeli Government would be willing to establish trade relations and cultural links with Cuba in exchange for Castro's good offices in dealing with the Arab countries and in helping to locate Nazis in Paraguay.

Harari made his first trip to Cuba accompanied by Dieguez and Camargo in an airplane owned by Carlos Duque Jaen.

At the Havana gathering, as in subsequent meetings, it was agreed upon and operations were planned to establish ties between Harari and Cuban intelligence services (America Department).

Thus, Harari established contact in Miami, Florida, with his Panamanian associate and lover Susana Barantes de Arches, wife of a Cuban resident of that city, coowner with Harari of the Shellidor company at Miami International Airport. The company's telephone number is 459-9188. Mrs. Arches is currently living in Panama City, Florida.

The Shellidor company at the time served the America Department as a contact for intelligence and other illegal activities. Contact was established with Havana through telephone numbers 70-1168, 32-7062, and 41-7878.

Mrs. Arches introduced Harari to her friend Carmen Pinilla from Herrera Province, with identification card number 6-3684, who lived in apartment two at the Bogota building. Her telephone number was 63-7317, and her apartment was located in front of the University of Panama. Pinilla was an interior decorator with offices at 5 Manuel M. Icaza Street, apartment 1. In 1988 Pinilla began to administer several apartments for Harari in Panama City.

While Harari was, presumably, an Israeli Government agent and an adviser to Gen. Noriega, he paid for weapons shipped to Panama while the America Department paid him to mobilize the weapons in Miami through the Shellidor company.

During that period, Harari was Gen. Noriega's counselor and adviser, and he became a faithful servant to the Havana government.

Operations between Panama and Cuba continue through the Setracasa company, a firm owned by the Cuban Government, which receives merchandise for Cuba and ships it to that country.

Setracasa's warehouses are in the France Field storage area and are managed by Jorge Lavalle, another individual who claims to be Panamanian.

Connections with Panamanian companies operating out of the Colon Free Zone, whose merchandise comes primarily from the East, are established by a Cuban Government employee who has diplomatic immunity and lives in the Via Argentina condominium, a scarce 30 meters from the Galaxia restaurant and across from the presidency minister's residence.

Of late this employee has increased his visits to the companies that illegally sell merchandise to Cuba, thereby violating the multinational embargo imposed against Fidel Castro's government.

What procedures are used in these transactions? Several. With some, goods in stock are dispatched from warehouses of Panamanian corporations to fill the orders placed by buyers for these enterprises, many of which have offices in Havana.

Buyers sometimes come from Cuba. The principal obstacle they encounter for their purchases, however, is a permit that local corporations must get from the National Immigration Department, which then authorizes the Panamanian Consulate in Havana to issue the corresponding visas. These officials arrive in Panama with the Panamanian Government approval.

For instance, Free Zone-based enterprises transfer goods to Setracasa or any other small company, which puts the merchandise in a container. The corresponding bill of lading names Aruba, Jamaica, Margarita, San Andres, or some other port as the final destination. The embargo imposed on the Haitian Government is similarly circumvented. These small companies can be embargoed, have their operations permit canceled, or be fined heavily. Nevertheless, they have been created deliberately to prevent punitive actions against other, larger corporations, which act covertly and are their real owners.

When the Cuban Government wants to meet a specific need, the companies that traditionally trade with the island fill these special orders in the East or from other countries that do support the embargo. The goods arrive in Panama and are unloaded from the container. Almost immediately, the merchandise is reloaded in another container and put aboard a ship with a fictitious final destination. Its true one, however, will always be Havana.

Speaking of ships, Servinaves de Panama, a Cuban company, handles in Panama everything dealing with Cuban vessels, many of which fly the Panamanian flag and are manned by Cuban crews, a disguise provided by Noriega's government that continues to be used with a number of benefits, the most important of which is entry into ports of countries unfriendly to Cuba, as well as U.S. ports. These vessels can also render services to guerrillas and drug trafficking organizations.

All these activities should lead to breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba, a decision being studied since the extant government assumed office after 20 December [1989].

The decision, however, depends on the status of Panama-U.S. relations which, as we all know, are not at their best.

See you later.

Argentina

UK Officials Question Menem Visit in 1992

PY2312011491 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES
HERALD in English 21 Dec 91 pp 1, 11

[Text] (DYN-NA)—Argentine authorities confirmed yesterday that President Carlos Menem will travel to Britain in the second half of 1992, in spite of explicit doubts expressed over the announced visit by officials of the British Embassy in Buenos Aires.

"It is not a good idea," said a British diplomat after hearing about the decision of the head of state to visit the country Argentina battled ten years ago over the sovereignty of the Malvinas Islands.

British Embassy Information Secretary John Ingamells asserted that "we want the president's visit to be done as he deserves, but like this, on such short notice, perhaps it wouldn't be a good idea. [no closing quotation mark as published]

"The problem is that 1992 is a complicated year," said the embassy's Acting Chief of Mission Gregory Faulkner, although he added quickly that "at the appropriate time, (Menem) would be welcomed."

Media Secretary Raul Burzaco ratified the journey yesterday, despite a full schedule next year for the British Foreign Office as well as elections for a new British prime minister.

The official said it is probable that Menem, during his stay in London, will sign economic co-operation agreements with the future British prime minister

Both Deputy Foreign Minister Juan Carlos Olima and the Argentine Ambassador to London Mario Campora expressed optimism over the visit and considered the decision "a goodwill gesture" that will be well received by the British government.

"We still can't confirm anything" regarding the topics to be addressed in London, Menem told journalists. "What's important, what's most significant, is that the trip will take place."

Despite Burzaco's suggestion that the trip will take place during the second half of 1992, Menem refrained from confirming an exact date "because an official visit requires many months of preparation and we are just now discussing the subject."

In spite of his announcement of dialogue, Faulkner said "we have yet to receive any word" from Argentine authorities over the visit and denied that any discussions concerning such a historic visit had begun.

For his part, Olima rejected the notion that the idea for the visit had originally been suggested by United States President George Bush.

"Menem," explained the deputy foreign minister, "made a concerted effort this year to consolidate Argentine relations with the United States and he thinks that 1992 will be the year to consolidate relations with Europe."

"Therefore," he continued, "we receive instructions and we're working towards that goal." Likewise, he added that Menem "will kick off the new year with a visit on February 12 to the European Parliament."

Campora in the meanwhile, explaining the current state of bilateral relations, considered that the trip will produce "a complete recuperation of relations between the two countries."

"We are certainly at odds over this issue of the South Atlantic because Argentina wants control over the Malvinas and jurisdiction over the rest of the islands," he said.

But he downplayed the importance of such differences, comparing the situation to that of Spain. "With the case of Gibraltar there is a conflict between that country and Great Britain and that has not kept binational co-operation from intensifying nor has it impeded Felipe Gonzalez and the king from visiting London or the prime minister and the queen from traveling to the peninsula."

Finally, Argentine clergyman Daniel Zafaroni, speaking yesterday at the blessing of a new headquarters for the Federation of War Veterans of the Argentine Republic, fervently disagreed with Campora, lambasting the British "invaders."

"The Malvinas saga was a legitimate act of defence because we went to recover what is ours," he said, calling the British occupation of the islands a "shameful plunder."

Survey Notes 50.3 Percent Approval for Menem

PY2312012291 Buenos Aires BUENOS AIRES
HERALD in English 22 Dec 91 p 4

[Text] (NA-DYN)—Despite the controversy surrounding several of his advisers in the "Milkgate" scandal, President Carlos Menem is enjoying one of the highest approval ratings of his tenure, according to a survey released today.

Consulting firm Lynch, Menendez and Nivel reported that while 50.3 percent of the 1,000 people it polled this month in the Buenos Aires metropolitan area gave their leader a positive grade, only 20.9 percent gave him a negative rating. Not only is the President's support higher than it was a year ago, when he received a favourable mark of only 41.8 percent and a negative one of 23.3 percent while the financial plan of former Economy Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez was crumbling, but it bounced back from a low 30.5 percent positive response in March, a reflection of the economic crisis that forced Menem to bring in current Economy Minister Domingo Cavallo.

Meanwhile, Cavallo has also given the chief executive his own version of an approval rating.

"The people want to keep him at the head of the government for a long time," asserted the economy minister yesterday at the launching of a new internal line of the Justicialist Party in Cordoba.

IMF Authorizes \$240 Million Loan Installment

PY2312011891 Buenos Aires **BUENOS AIRES**
HERALD in English 21 Dec 91 p 1

[Text] (DYN)—The IMF yesterday authorized the disbursement of a second 240 million-dollar installment of a 1.04 billion stand-by loan for Argentina.

Economy Ministry spokesman Adrian Gomez said the disbursement could be made effective on Monday [23 December] adding that members from the U.S., Japan, Germany and Canada said that Argentina is ready to transform its current stand-by loan into an extended facilities [terms] loan.

Arms Cache Linked to International Arms Ring

PY1812210291 Buenos Aires **BUENOS AIRES**
HERALD in English 18 Dec 91 p 11

[From the "Argentina in Brief" column]

[Text] (DYN)—The federal police yesterday confiscated a large arms cache and arrested two persons believed to be linked to an international arms dealing network, police sources said. Police Inspector Roberto Galvarino said unregistered hand guns, UZI and INGRAN machine guns, FAL [light assault rifles] rifles, grenades, shotguns, ammunition and other explosives were found in the City neighbourhood of Belgrano. He added that the guns were probably smuggled in from Bolivia or Paraguay. The police officer said the leaders of the organization were being hunted but gave no further details on the investigation.

Armed Forces Council Sentences Rebel NCO's

PY2312012691 Buenos Aires **BUENOS AIRES**
HERALD in English 21 Dec 91 p 11

[Text] (NA-DYN)—The Armed Forces Supreme Council yesterday sentenced 13 non-commissioned officers who took part in the December 3, 1990 carapintada [painted faces] rebellion.

Three other non-commissioned officers were acquitted. However, two of the defendants were sentenced to six months arrest while all 16 men were retired from the force.

The sentences will be reviewed in a public trial by the Federal Appeals Court, which condemned carapintada leader Mohamed Ali Seineldin to life imprisonment.

The 13 carapintadas were found guilty of mutiny and rebellion, aggravated with bloodshed, according to a

report released by the head of the highest military tribunal, General Anibal Rivera.

The tribunal sent the report to Defence Minister Antonio Erman Gonzalez informing him on what is seen as the end of the fourth phase of the trial of the carapintadas.

The verdict, signed by all members of the tribunal, includes a 15-year prison sentence for Sergeant Miguel Angel Segovia and 12 years for Sergeant Julio Cesar Diaz.

The Supreme Council added that of the 606 [number as published] servicemen arrested for last year's rebellion, 61 were indicted, 13 acquitted while charges against 398 other men were dropped. Another 131 officers are currently being tried.

Finally, the tribunal reported that Lieutenant-Colonel Jorge Di Pascuale, Major Pablo Santiago Llanos, Major Pablo Coni and four other officers are still on the run from the military courts.

*** November Industrial Production Up by 2 Percent**

92P40085A Buenos Aires **AMBITO FINANCIERO**
in Spanish 2 Dec 91 p 19

[Text] According to the report issued by the Economic Institute of the Argentine Business College, the industrial production rate registered a slight increase of about 2 percent in November. This result is related to mixed performances of the different industrial sectors; the figures show a strong rise in consumer durable goods and a decrease of 2 percent in intermediate goods.

According to the report, the continued demand for automobiles and domestic goods, which reportedly exceeded expectations, was the factor that made the difference in the durables category. At the same time, the increase in competitive imports of plastics, paper, and textiles appears to be the cause of the decrease in intermediate products.

Another important statistic cited is the notable recovery in capacity utilization, which grew by 6 percent, showing the use of 72.5 percent of available capacity.

According to the study, short-term prospects call for production levels slightly higher than current figures, with a possible rise in internal consumption due to higher salaries negotiated in some sectors.

The growth in production volume, along with internal price stability, is one of the keys to the success of the convertibility plan put in place on 1 April 1991.

Envoy Visits Syria Over Relations in Yoma Case

PY1812224091 Buenos Aires **CLARIN** in Spanish
18 Dec 91 p 11

[Excerpt] Ambassador Andres Cisneros, the chief of Foreign Minister Guido di Tella's staff, traveled to Syria in mid-November to meet with Foreign Minister Faruq

al-Shar' after the Syrian Government expressed a certain cooling in its relationship with Argentina following what it described as abandoning the "children of the country" to their own fate.

The unequivocal reference involved Amira Yoma and her former husband, Ibrahim al-Ibrahim. Apparently, the Argentine Government, aware of the indictment in Spain of the former presidential audiences director on drug-trafficking and money-laundering charges, made an attempt to smooth things over and expedite the agenda for Carlos Menem's pending trip to Syria.

According to Foreign Ministry sources contacted by CLARIN, Cisneros once again reiterated the government's official position of leaving the resolution of the Yoma case to the hands of justice. [passage omitted]

Brazil

Senate Approves Tax Reform, Debt Accord

PY2112234891 Sao Paulo O ESTADÃO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 21 Dec 91 Political Section p 4

[Text] Brasilia—An alliance between the government and the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party] last night in the Senate allowed approval of the tax reform proposed by the government and of the agreement on rescheduling state debts. It was an exchange of favors because the government approved rescheduling the \$70 million debt that the state and municipal governments have with the federal government, while the PMDB—headed by former Governor Orestes Quercia—guaranteed approval of the emergency tax reform submitted to Congress by the government. Disagreements arose during the vote on the debt agreement. Some senators supporting the government became jealous of the PMDB's power and rebelled. The problem was solved, however.

From the night of 19 December until yesterday, Justice Minister Jarbas Passarinho used a very simple argument to convince the blocs supporting the government: It would be better to accept the PMDB's demands than to generate a impasse on the tax reform vote. Agreeing to a rescheduling of the state debts was the only means that the government had to obtain the necessary majority to approve the tax reform. With this tax reform the government plans to obtain an additional tax collection of \$10.5 billion (approximately 10.7 trillion cruzeiros) next year.

The law again indexes the calculation and collection of federal taxes, creates 15 and 25 percent tax rates for income taxes paid by private individuals (to replace the existing 10 and 25 percent tax rates), and increases the ceiling for exemption from taxes from 250,000 cruzeiros to approximately 570,000 cruzeiros as of next January. The project foresees the collection in 1992 of part of the income tax that enterprises would have collected (recolheriam) in 1993 and abolishes the supplementary

income tax on profits sent abroad. As of 1993, it eliminates the tax on enterprises' net profits [Imposto sobre Lucro Liquido—ILL] and expands the government's power to fight tax evasion. Moreover, a 2 percent tax rate on the sales value of enterprises was created instead of the Finsocial [Social Program Financing Fund]. The tax reform and the agreement on the state debt was approved by the Chamber of Deputies on 18 December.

Symbolic Vote—The project was approved in a symbolic vote by the party leaderships. The PSDB [Brazilian Social Democratic Party], the PT [Workers Party], and the PDS [Social Democratic Party] tried to prevent approval of the rescheduling of the state and municipal governments' debt. These parties were defeated by a 37 to 23 vote, however. Fernando Henrique Cardoso (Sao Paulo), PSDB leader in the Senate, did not conceal his frustration. He protested by making a speech "only for Congress' records" requesting that his negative vote be registered in the records.

The senators who were against rescheduling the debt demanded that PMDB leader Senator Humberto Lucena (Paraiba) agree to let the PMDB senators vote on the tax reform during the plenary session. Lucena refused to assume this commitment, however, saying that first he had to consult PMDB chairman Orestes Quercia. Quercia was touring southern Brazil and could not be located, forcing Lucena to refuse to make any promises. The matter was solved during the vote and the PMDB won the symbolic vote.

The delay in Quercia's answer made Senator Esperidiao Amin (PDS- Santa Catarina) very nervous. He complained: "This is an insult to the senators, to the Senate, to society." "Here we are sitting around, waiting for Lucena to locate the PMDB leader." Lucena did not like what Amin said; he seized the microphone and said that when the PDS senator was the governor of Santa Catarina, he made the state go bankrupt. The PMDB chairman was never found, but the bloc headed by Lucena and those who support the government did not need him. They won in two rounds of voting.

Council Continues Payment of Debt Interest

PY2112013891 Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO in Portuguese 19 Dec 91 p 30

[Excerpt] Brasilia—Brazil will continue paying only 30 percent of the foreign debt interest during the first quarter of 1992. The authorization for the payment was given yesterday by the National Monetary Council (CMN). Since the beginning of this year, Brazil has adopted a unilateral decision to honor 30 percent of the foreign debt interest. But the formalization of the decision, via CMN, has been made every three months.

At the opening of the CMN meeting yesterday, Economy Minister Marcilio Marques Moreira reaffirmed that the agreement with the IMF must be concluded during the first half of January. He believes that the country will conclude an agreement with private banks by March 1992. [passage omitted]

Collor Approves Salary Hike for Public Servants*PY1912225291 Brasilia Voz do Brasil Network
in Portuguese 2100 GMT 19 Dec 91***[Report by Lourival Macedo at Planalto Palace]**

[Excerpt] President Collor has approved—with 18 vetoes—a bill granting a 20-percent salary adjustment this month for civilian and military public servants. He also approved the rating and duties plan [Plano de Classificacao e Cargos], PCC. This measure will benefit about 215,000 public servants who did not receive advance payments in 1988 and who now will receive a 35-percent adjustment retroactive to November. With this measure, the grade adjustment, included in the PCC, totals 62 percent. The measure also benefits judicial and legislative branch servants. [passage omitted]

Chile**Minister Wants German Flexibility on Honecker***PY2112165491 Santiago Radio Chilena Network
in Spanish 1600 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] Interior Minister Enrique Krauss, concurrently acting foreign minister, expressed his hope that a solution will soon be found to the problem created by Erich Honecker's presence in the Chilean Embassy in Moscow. According to Krauss, the solution may be a third country, or even Santiago, although the Chilean Government is waiting for a more flexible attitude by Germany which demands the extradition of the former GDR president.

Krauss added that the Chilean Government cannot hand over Honecker to the German Government. Honecker is being held responsible for the death of thousands of GDR citizens who tried to flee to the FRG during his administration. Krauss reiterated that Chile is working through diplomatic means to find a quick solution to this problem.

Government Imposes Arms Embargo on Yugoslavia*PY2112165691 Santiago Radio Chilena Network
in Spanish 1600 GMT 21 Dec 91*

[Text] The official gazette has published a Foreign Ministry decree which imposes a general and complete embargo on all the weapons and military materiel equipment deliveries to Yugoslavia. The decree, dated 7 December, states that the pertinent public institutions and authorities must adopt all the necessary measures to comply with the dispositions of Resolution No. 713 of the UN Security Council.

Poll Shows Government Losing Popularity*PY2112012291 Santiago Radio Chilena Network
in Spanish 1600 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Summary] According to the latest poll conducted by the Institute for the New Chile [Instituto Para El Nuevo Chile] the government's popularity has decreased 15 percent from July to December 1991, 49.4 percent compared with 64.6 percent in the previous poll conducted in mid-1991. The most popular personalities in Chile continue to be President Patricio Aylwin and Santiago Archbishop Monsignor Carlos Oviedo, and the least popular continue to be Communist Party leader Volodia Teitelboim and General Augusto Pinochet.

Pinochet Says Relations With Government 'Normal'*PY2112011691 Santiago Radio Cooperativa Network
in Spanish 2200 GMT 20 Dec 91*

[Text] General Augusto Pinochet was asked today about relations between the executive branch and the Army at the end of the luncheon given by President Patricio Aylwin in La Moneda Palace for the officers who graduated from the Army War College.

[Begin recording in progress] [Pinochet] About what situation? On the contrary, the situation is normal.

[Unidentified reporter] [Question indistinct]

[Pinochet] How can you think of that? On the contrary.

[Reporter] Do you believe that the relations are good?

[Pinochet] Very good; what else can I tell you. [end recording]

Gen. Pinochet then reiterated what he already said, that he never infringed upon the Constitution.

Lautaro Members Ambush Carabineros in Santiago*PY2312014091 Santiago Television Nacional de Chile
Network in Spanish 2330 GMT 22 Dec 91*

[Excerpts] Two Carabineros were injured and three vehicles were burned in an armed propaganda action carried out by members of the Lautaro terrorist organization.

The clash occurred last night in Penalolen District. The subversives used three stolen taxis last night to carry out propaganda in different parts of the district while another group distributed clothing and other articles in Lo Hermida District, where they burned three municipal vehicles. The subversives entered the municipal facilities by beating up one of the guards and after spraying the vehicles with gasoline, they set them on fire. They escaped after leaving propaganda pamphlets in the municipal facilities.

A few blocks away the same group, including a woman, ambushed a police patrol car, which led to a shoot-out. The police patrol car was hit by 17 bullets and two Carabineros were injured. After a police operation, the three stolen taxis were found. Several houses were raided and people on the street were checked. [passage omitted]

Carabineros carried out operations after midnight but the subversives were able to escape. The two injured Carabineros, Alfredo Serega and Vasco Nunez Liverona, are recovering in the Carabineros Hospital.

Colombia

Gaviria on Solution to Guerrilla Conflict

PA1912163391 Santa Fe de Bogota Emisoras Caracol Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Text] Santa Fe de Bogota—President Cesar Gaviria Trujillo has reiterated in La Uribe, Meta Department, that a political solution to the country's guerrilla conflict will be achieved without eliminating the Armed Forces.

We have made progress in the peace talks, but we cannot trust that those talks will preserve the security and peace of Colombians, Gaviria emphasized. He added that he is confident that the rebels will someday understand that what we are looking for and the only thing all Colombians want is peace.

We want everyone to have bread, land, and justice and to live with their fellow citizens and be members of a more just and equal democratic society, Gaviria concluded.

Attorney General: Police Used Excessive Violence

PA1612231491 Paris AFP in Spanish 0321 GMT 13 Dec 91

[Text] Santa Fe de Bogota, 12 Dec (AFP)—The Attorney General's Office confirmed on 12 December that police used excessive violence in operations against Colombian drug cartels.

The section of the Attorney General's Office responsible for supervising the Judicial Police maintained its decision to dismiss two officers and three noncommissioned officers who were part of a May 1990 patrol that killed seven people during a raid in Medellin, the capital of Antioquia Department.

According to reports published at the time of the incident, the action—which was carried out at an agromining enterprise—was directed against Medellin cartel finance chiefs.

The Attorney General's Office confirmed that "there was unreasonable, unjustifiable, and unnecessary use of weapons" during the operation.

The final decision announced by Jaime Camacho, who is responsible for supervising the Judicial Police, affects Captain Javier Yanez, Lieutenant Hugo Ruiz, and Corporals Jorge Duran, Jorge Cardenas, and Manuel Romero.

Threats Continue After Indian Killings

PA2112003691 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravisión Television Cadena 2 in Spanish 1730 GMT 19 Dec 91

[Report by Fernando Alvarez]

[Text] The killing of 20 Indians in Caloto, Cauca Department, revealed a gigantic land conflict and that hundreds of persons have received death threats and several communities are totally unprotected. It has been established in Popayan and other communities that Paes and Guambiano Indians are in danger after claiming their land.

Different reactions have been registered in Cauca Department after the killing of 20 Indians by unidentified individuals in Caloto. Sources from the Quintin Lame Indian Social Alliance have voiced their concern over the Indians' gloomy future. The Indians have not yet received land ownership titles from the government. This situation keeps alive the land ownership problem.

After the Caloto killings, paramilitary groups have reportedly threatened Totoroes Indians in Paniquita, Totoro Municipality, in eastern Cauca. They have been labelled as guerrillas by some unidentified individuals who appeared in the region in the last few days.

[Begin recording, Quintin Lame leader Alfonso Pena] It seems there will be more violence in Cauca Department. The presence of paramilitary groups has been observed in the Paniquita area. Paramilitary groups have also been spotted in Morales. We are concerned over these sightings. [end recording]

Meanwhile, representatives of labor federations in Cauca have requested that the Gaviria administration extend the Peace Council to that part of the country.

[Begin recording, Dario Delgado, president of the Federation of Cauca Workers] I think the Peace Council would be an instrument to centralize, gather, deepen, and seek real solutions to eradicate violence. [end recording]

Escobar Offers Evidence Against Noriega

PA2112200991 Santa Fe de Bogota Inravisión Television Cadena 1 in Spanish 0000 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] It has been learned in the last few hours that Pablo Escobar has made a proposal to cooperate with the U.S. authorities in the trial against General Manuel Antonio Noriega. Pablo Escobar offered to provide conclusive evidence to convict Noriega. Although the proposal from the drug cartel chief might sound surprising, the truth is that Pablo Escobar has sufficient reasons to make such a proposal.

Pablo Escobar wants to prevent the loss of the reduction in his sentence and to resolve his legal situation with the U.S. judicial system. These are the reasons that led the Medellin cartel kingpin to make his proposal for cooperation with the U.S. judicial authorities. Prior to

Noriega's trial, Escobar was sure that the only thing that could be proven against him was the shipment of 400 kg of cocaine to a French island. That is why when he turned himself in; he only confessed that crime. Sufficient evidence and testimony nevertheless are being accumulated in Noriega's trial to prove that Escobar participated in other drug trafficking deals. If that evidence reaches Colombia and is sufficient to charge Escobar with crimes other than the one to which he confessed, the Medellin cartel chief would lose the benefits of the decrees under which he turned himself over to the authorities.

In addition, if Escobar is successful in receiving a single trial for the crimes committed in Colombia and the United States, he would resolve his legal situation with both judicial systems and would be able to move freely about the world without fear of being sought by U.S. agents. We must now wait to see what is more important for the United States: Sinking Noriega with the testimony and firsthand evidence that Escobar can provide, or continuing to gather the evidence that will permit the United States to point to other crimes committed by the Colombian drug kingpin and to which he has not confessed, thus making him lose all of the benefits granted by the Colombian judicial system.

Ecuador

Borja Invites Peru's Fujimori To Visit

PA2112043291 Quito Cadena Ecuador Radio
in Spanish 2300 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori will arrive in the country between 9 and 11 January on an official invitation made by his colleague Rodrigo Borja. This will be the second meeting that will be held by the two presidents to discuss the border problem.

Foreign Minister Diego Cordovez said this visit is considered by both countries as an extremely important and historic meeting. It is the first visit of this kind conducted by the Peruvian president.

[Begin Cordovez recording] As a result of an initiative and invitation by President Rodrigo Borja, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori will pay an official visit to Ecuador between 9 and 11 January 1992. Communiqués drafted in Lima and Quito by the two governments are currently being made public. I will now read it:

Following the meeting between the presidents of Ecuador and Peru in the city of Cartagena, Colombia on 3 December 1991 and within the spirit of mutual understanding and friendly respect of the two presidents, consultations have been made for a second meeting between the two presidents. With this purpose in mind, Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori will pay an official visit to Ecuador between 9 and 11 January 1992. The visit, the result of a cordial invitation by Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja, is considered by both sides as

an extremely important and historic meeting because it is the first visit of this kind by a Peruvian president. [end recording]

* Raul Baca on Candidacy, Economic Policy

92SM0149A Guayaquil EL UNIVERSO in Spanish
(Sunday Section) 24 Nov 91 p 1

[Interview with Democratic Left presidential candidate Raul Baca by Maria Elena Arellano; date and place not given]

[Text] [Arellano] On what do you base your chances for success, considering the fact that you have been harmed by the government's discreditation?

[Baca] I believe that human struggle has its reasons, which don't necessarily imply the righteousness of those in charge. Far more important than the candidacy for the Presidency of the Republic is the need for achieving in this country an increased participation by the people in political issues. That's why our summons to the political parties to form a national front, with complete pluralism, is essential. But, apart from this, there is the participation of social sectors outside the parties which sometimes fail to appear, making appeals and claiming that they want to clarify their role in national politics (tradespeople, workers, businessmen, teachers, students). He adds that consensus and dialogue are possible in an atmosphere of liberty, such as the one existing, "to the credit of this government". And, "despite everything claimed by its opponents about the ostensible government erosion, I think that people are far more intelligent than the leaders of certain sectors would have us believe."

[Arellano] The polls don't give you more than 2 percent of the vote, do they?

[Baca] I do believe in polls, but they are valid for the day on which they are taken. The ones published indicated results for October, when I wasn't even a candidate. So, I'm absolutely sure that, if the elections had taken place that month, Sixto Duran-Ballen would be president of the republic. However, the facts that come out during the campaign, when it's possible to find the reasons for the people's vote, don't necessarily have as an election result what was anticipated 6 months earlier.

[Arellano] How much have you been hurt by having been nominated when there's only a short time before elections, because Dr. Rodrigo Borja refused to surrender the party's leadership?

[Baca] First, there's no sponsorship in my selection; the country knows that. I think that four months are sufficient for telling our people the truth. And I consider the proclamation of 15 November a success for the party, which will make it possible to hold far shorter election campaigns. In fact, the country has done well in shortening electoral processes, and ID [Democratic Left] wanted to contribute to that; because it's impossible for

the republic's economic activity to become eroded, and for the electoral process to be cause irreparable harm. The country can't stand the suspense of a presidential election longer than necessary.

[Arellano] In this political panorama, some are refusing to be candidates, and others are resisting, or are accepting when prodded. Wouldn't you appear to be the one being most victimized by a conspiracy that wants the right to succeed in 1992 and you to fail, while the opportunity for others will come in 1996?

[Baca] If we must discuss indecision, Sixto's was the greatest; so let's not take him as an example. I'm a man of decision who has never doubted the possibility of being a candidate, and president of the republic. I'm averse to indecision, and that's why I say that people choose their time when they have made their decision to work. The circumstances are the current ones; I'm not avoiding them. Many claim that it's very difficult to break the pendular system. In fact, I accept the challenge with all my political and personal determination, and with the certainty that ID is behind me with the same determination. And behind that is our intention of achieving this national front that we have been discussing.

We asked engineer Baca whether Andres Vallejo (a possible presidential candidate in 1996) is Dr. Borja's "trouble maker in disguise." Unable to conceal a smile, he responds: "I have always avoided making comments on such matters. I get along very well with him."

Immovable Candidacy

[Arellano] You mentioned the possibility of forming a national front. Under what conditions would that be achieved?

[Baca] Look we haven't set any limits, but we base it on the fact that there are fundamental agreements with the parties within the progressive movement. We have invited National Liberation, APRE [Ecuadoran Revolutionary Popular Action], the People's Party, and FADI [Broad Front of the Left], with which we maintain very good party relations. We have also worked on the legislative level, and on one occasion we talked with DP [Popular Democracy Party]. We consider it essential to converse with other sectors, such as FRA [Alfarist Radical Front].

[Arellano] Fabian Alarcon claimed that they wanted nothing to do with ID or DP.

[Baca] Well, our proposals are, in fact, not completely electoral. Rather, we want to discuss the agreements necessary for producing a program, a government action aimed at giving a response to the national problems. We don't expect all the responses to be positive; sometimes they're distorted. Imagine Osvaldo Hurtado claiming that we set prior conditions, thereby precluding dialogue, when the entire country knows that ID's official candidacy occurred as early as 15 November. As you know,

DP also announced that, at its convention, it had decided to run with its own candidates. So, I believe that Dr. Hurtado is misinformed. Of course that's due to his dissociation from the party structures, the ones with which we've actually talked."

[Arellano] To be realistic, the parties that would form the front don't add up to the votes necessary for victory.

[Baca] Votes are obviously important to the electoral process. But I think that the lines of thinking among the parties recognized by law are far more important. And to seek the pooling of those ideas has enormous value, because behind them there is a people. And finding the expression of those lines of thinking produces a common idea amid the plurality of the invited parties that would facilitate coordination.

[Arellano] In the formation of that national front, would you be willing to give up your presidential candidacy?

[Baca] I have stated very clearly that ID has given me a specific assignment, which I hope to be able to carry out with full determination and no doubt, at a time when it's important to indicate to the people the differences existing between us and the right and populism. I have also stated that if, in the search for this political goal, the party deems it essential to revise its own decision, I won't be the one to cause problems. But, until that happens, the candidacy of Raul Baca Carbo is immovable, and the search for national consensus is also a very clear political goal.

[Arellano] Since you seem so optimistic, with whom would you compete in the run-off election?

[Baca] I think that one of the two Social Christian candidates, Jaime Nebot or Sixto Duran-Ballen, will reach the run-off election. One is inside the party, and the other outside, reinforced by the Conservative Party. One will be a finalist, and we'll confront him in the run-off election.

He Will Change Economic Policy

[Arellano] When Dr. Borja was an opposition deputy, he criticized engineer Febres-Cordero's government. In fact, he raised the price of fuel, for example, far more than his predecessor did. Do you think that it all depends on who is doing the talking?

[Baca] I consider it essential to analyze that far more deeply. Statistics don't lie: Roldos left inflation at 10 percent; Hurtado doubled it to 20 percent; and Febres-Cordero brought it beyond 60 percent. This is the first time that the government has managed to reduce it; it stands at 48 percent. That has proven that the economy can be managed. In order to correct the economic chaos left by Febres-Cordero, and to set economic parameters under conditions whereby there would be real management of the economy, certain measures relating to the results that you have cited had to be adopted. Based on specific comparisons, however, the action taken is far

less drastic than that of previous governments. The fact is that right wing analysts claim that the measures adopted aren't good because they are very slight; but the politicians who have become spokesmen for that action claim that it shouldn't have been taken. Those are the things that we want to expose to the country, besides exposing ourselves.

[Arellano] In what respect would your economic proposal be a change from what is being practiced by the current government? Will continuism be perpetuated?

[Baca] No, no; I said that we must continue ahead with certain policies, but there are others of which I don't approve. One of them is changing the consumption-production ratio. In my view, economic policy begins with the possibility of consuming; that's what creates the incentive for work. Gradualism is a measure that could even disappear but, at the present time, to foster policies of benefit to the vast majorities, it unquestionably offers far more options than the shock measures proposed by right wing analysts.

Another factor that he considers is the analysis of public spending, and preventing the continued execution of action based on a superfluous policy. "The question is, can we continue with luxurious projects when the people lack the minimum essentials?"

[Arellano] What about the Guayaquil and Quito airports?

[Baca] They involve proposals that have been studied and analyzed so as not to cause problems for the country.

[Arellano] Don't you consider the project over-sized?

[Baca] I'm not sufficiently familiar with the details to tell you whether it has such features. There have been questions about the feasibility of reducing the airports. However, the government's decision has been turned over to certain sectors for analysis, and I'm sure that this consideration is present in their minds.

Engineer Baca does not believe that, with privatization, services can be performed at the same cost by private enterprise. "This doesn't mean that we approve of the inefficiency of certain entities. I consider it essential to give them greater reinforcement with the service cooperatives, which would allow for the incorporation of nongovernmental organizations. We don't approve of making way for private enterprise and leaving the state with a role as a police guard.

Foreign Debt

He notes that Latin America should unite around the issue of the foreign debt payment, and hold a common position. "In our government, we will by no means negotiate with the country's economic sovereignty. Our voice will always be raised to find the sound balance that will make it possible to coordinate two types of action: honoring the state's obligations, and not allowing this to complicate the country's development. An example

would be an attempt to prevent the interest payment from exceeding 30 percent of the budget."

[Arellano] The Paris Club has forgiven 50 percent of Poland's debt.

[Baca] There has been great generosity on the part of the system's creditors toward the East European political movements. It would be desirable for Latin America to receive the same treatment. Otherwise, it would mean claiming that we must first undergo extreme situations, so as to achieve an objective view of a region suffering the consequences of the debt.

Peru

Shining Path Resumes Attacks on Popular Leaders

PA2212041691 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0027 GMT
22 Dec 91

[Text] Lima, 21 Dec (EFE)—Leonora Zamora Concha, mayoress of Ayacucho from 1983 to 1985, was killed by three alleged terrorists on 21 December. In Lima, popular organizations have reported that selective attacks against their leaders have resumed.

Zamora, 43, who was also a social science professor at San Cristobal University in Ayacucho, was shot twice in the head in broad daylight in a street, the police reported.

In addition, the National Diners' Commission and the Federation of Lima Self-Support Diners reported that an attack was carried out on 20 December against Emma Hilario, leader of the popular diners in Pamplona Alta, a Lima neighborhood. Hilario, her husband, and a brother-in-law were injured.

In a news conference, the local leaders held the Shining Path responsible for the attack and pointed out that the terrorists "have resumed selective attacks on democratic and popular leaders, turning this Christmas into a bloody one."

According to the report, Hilario and other Popular Diners leaders "have been threatened by the Shining Path," which does not want development projects in which it has no participation.

In September, Shining Path members killed Fortunato Collazos and Alfredo Aguirre, leaders of the John Paul II neighborhood. After killing the community leaders, who ran sanitation projects in the barrio, approximately 60 Shining Path members—men and women—inflicted even more damage on the bodies. One woman cut off Aguirre's tongue.

In August the Shining Path killed Juana Lopez, who is in charge of the Glass of Milk children food program in Callao.

Mayors have also been the targets of terrorist attacks in Peru. In the past seven years, 140 mayors have been killed. The number of murdered mayors and candidates

for mayors increased in August, several weeks before the complementary municipal elections held in Peru on that month.

Fujimori Decries Corruption at Parliament

PA2012231091 Lima Panamericana Television Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 20 Dec 91

[Text] President Alberto Fujimori again has strongly criticized parliamentary bureaucratization and delays and corruption in the Judiciary Branch. He announced a series of measures aimed at correcting these deficiencies, which adversely affect the country.

Fujimori made his statements at the graduation ceremony of the national defense course at the Center of Advanced Military Studies.

[Begin Fujimori recording] The parliament, for example, will not function under the new guidelines, as long as it sees in the immunity of its members the authorization not to explain to the country the money allotted for each house; or as long as each congressman employs 11 people with government funds, including secretaries and advisers who are sometimes relatives.

The people realized long ago that the parliament is plagued with anachronism and inefficiencies that are continually criticized. They have realized that the problems will not be solved by increasing budgets but by changing attitudes and introducing a new ethical system into the power structures. When I address this topic the question suddenly comes up, can a branch of the state, which is evidently not moving at the pace the country requires, be criticized or must we maintain silent, which is unacceptable? I sincerely think it is necessary to express one's critical views for the country's sake.

With respect to the Judiciary Branch, this phenomenon repeats itself. This institution, more than any other, is committed to resisting the changes and plans to modernize the country. The corruption level makes the Judiciary Branch less sensible. This can be seen in the actions of many judges, which again reveal the undisputed truth that their decisions are not based on evidence but on their personal choices. On this topic, the typical element of the moral crisis of institutions appears: inaccuracy. It is an inaccuracy that a lack of resources is reason to go so far as to take bribes and engage in immoral acts. This is a lie that has been deliberately presented as a truth to hide the real reason for the problem.

When are we going to break this continuing chain of vices and distortions in the administration of justice? Will the new organic law be enough to perform miracles? Evidently not. I am a firm believer in trying to find solutions within the institutions. I say I am a believer, not a fanatic. With regard to the Judiciary Branch, the prevalence of criticism does not appear to indicate an internal solution. I am led to believe that, perhaps in this case, we will have to introduce a solution from outside.

Perhaps an alternative would be to promote a parallel system of justice administration. This could be achieved by placing more importance on and providing the necessary organization to the arbitration system, which has been recognized by the Constitution in Article 236, Paragraph 1.

What I mean to say is that if the Judiciary Branch does not try to resolve completely its structural and serious problems of taking advantage of others, bureaucratism, delays, and corruption, the modern society we want to build will find new mechanisms and methods to solve its basic need to administer justice. [end recording]

Fujimori Discusses Visit to Ecuador 9-11 Jan

PA2112161191 Lima Global de Television Network in Spanish 0100 GMT 21 Dec 91

[Text] President Alberto Fujimori will visit Ecuador from 9 to 11 January, becoming the first Peruvian president to visit that country. He will be making the trip in response to an official invitation from Ecuadoran President Rodrigo Borja to resume peace talks. In making the announcement, President Fujimori indicated that a good atmosphere exists for understanding and detente.

[Begin recording] [Fujimori] This is a very important and momentous decision. It is a step that could even be described as bold, but we have to continue on this peace and development offensive in order to find a solution to this recurrent dispute that has blocked Peru's development so much. That is why, consolidating the initiative I took some time ago through a four-point proposal, we have coordinated this official visit. I am sure that our Ecuadoran brothers are going to give this initiative a very favorable reception.

[Reporter] Are you going to sign a special document?

[Fujimori] We probably will.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] the first step that will be taken?

[Fujimori] We will continue in this climate of detente, with the consolidation of friendship, so there will not be any of the distrust that has caused us so much harm. We will speak about such topics as specific bilateral cooperation along the border, and the possibility of free navigation on the Amazon River by our Ecuadoran friends, something that is included in the Rio Protocol. I am sure these steps will be productive and we will be able to state that we are involved in an integration process.

[Reporter] Will the guarantors of the protocol participate in this meeting?

[Fujimori] No, it will be a meeting between the two presidents. It will be an official state visit from 9 to 11 January at the cordial invitation of President Rodrigo Borja.

[Reporter] Will you be accompanied by some defense official?

[Fujimori] I will be accompanied by the foreign minister and probably by the industry and integration minister. My family will also accompany me.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] such a historic visit?

[Fujimori] Of course, an agenda is being drawn up. It will not only be a meeting between presidents. It will also be a meeting with the Ecuadoran people. I will visit historic sites that are significant in the history of America.

[Reporter] Will you be seeking more Ecuadoran investments in Peru?

[Fujimori] Well, in reality the investments are mutual. I think we can intensify bilateral trade because some obstacles have occasionally emerged—for example, obstacles to free transit on our roads. These kinds of problems could be resolved.

[Reporter] Does this visit mean that the spirit of the Rio Protocol will not be changed in any way?

[Fujimori] The proposal is contained in the document that I personally sent to President Borja. It is very precise. I hope to discuss these points with him. [end recording]

Fujimori Addresses Police Academy Graduation

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[Excerpts] President Alberto Fujimori, who closed the academic year at the National Police officers' school on 18 December, said that evil and corrupt policemen are disgracing the institution. He warned that his government will not allow these individuals to take advantage of the civilian population. [passage omitted]

The National Police school's commencement exercises graduated 458 second lieutenants. This was the third class to graduate from the school, which now has 1,533 graduates.

The ceremony, which was held in the Mariano Santos Weapons Court, was led by President Alberto Fujimori. He presented the sword of honor to Second Lieutenant Francisco Antucker Ortiz, who earned first place honors in his class. The new officers later took oath. [passage omitted]

[Begin Fujimori recording] The image of the police is still poor because of the misconduct of a few criminals, who arrived as such at their schools and today hide behind their uniforms or badges to perpetrate crimes.

I must also say, however, that the image of the police has also deteriorated because a few policemen—fortunately, only a few—who should be issuing instructions, establishing controls, and setting examples are failing to do so. Instead, they are attempting to wash their hands by

blaming their subordinates for orders that are not fulfilled. No sir. This is over. As of this moment, orders and mandates must be fully executed. The officer who issues the order will be personally accountable for following up on the execution of the order; if the order is not followed, this will also be attributed to him.

We must be very strict. Officers must assume more responsibilities and they must carry out their duties to the fullest, because this is what they have been trained to do. They must not cover up irregularities and leniency, let alone abuses against the population. Their conduct should always be exemplary.

I wish to be very clear, and my witnesses are these brand-new police second lieutenants. We are not going to tolerate abuses or excesses against the population. Each case of abuse will be harshly punished from top to bottom. It is not fair and we cannot allow the people to say that a few misfits want to turn the police force into an abusive organization. Therefore, I am announcing that an office will be opened at the Interior Ministry to receive all of the complaints and reports that members of the National Police may wish to make regarding the abuses and irregularities perpetrated by evil policemen. [end recording]

Fujimori Discusses New Embassies, Visa Problems

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in Spanish 0100 GMT 19 Dec 91

[News conference by Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori with unidentified reporters on 18 December; place not specified—recorded]

[Text] [Fujimori] The Foreign Ministry must promote the new international image of Peru as well as foreign and private sector investments. We are applying a number of measures to rationalize the work of administrative and diplomatic personnel.

We will not be closing many embassies; in certain cases, we are proposing concurrent embassies, and in places such as Southeast Asia, we are opening embassies. We want to maintain three important centers—we call them macroembassies—in Asia, Europe, and Mexico, which will issue our foreign policy directives.

[Reporter] Mr. President, the situation of Peruvians traveling to Europe is a matter of deep concern, because most of them are being turned back. It is surprising that your administration has not assumed a more vigorous attitude, such as issuing a protest note, or at least an expression of concern, as in the case of Spain, which is turning back Peruvians for no legal reasons.

[Fujimori] Actually, your statement is incorrect. You said that a majority of Peruvian tourists are being turned back. That is not right, because not even 2 percent of them have received this treatment. Each country is entitled to determine who is admitted or not; that is the inherent right of each nation. Our Foreign Ministry,

however, is obviously making efforts to prevent this type of mistreatment—and more so, abuses—of our fellow citizens.

It is true, as these nations have claimed, that some Peruvians who are traveling have an irregular status and that they are looking for jobs while holding tourist visas. This issue must be handled at the Foreign Ministry level, and we hope that a satisfactory solution will be reached.

Venezuela

* AD Deputy Criticizes CAP's Economic Program

92SM0152B Caracas EL DIARIO DE CARACAS
in Spanish 24 Nov 91 p 25

[Article by Diana Ramon Vilarasau]

[Text] The AD [Democratic Action] congresswoman, who chairs the Deputies Internal Policy Committee, thinks that the time has come to sit down and analyze which aspects of the party's little neoliberal formula have worked and which have not, and to provide a solution for the population's social problems. She described the begging of pardon and expressing of condolences, followed only by responding to the people's aspirations with repression, as hypocrisy on the government's part.

The government's obsession, with a complete lack of flexibility, because it refuses to sit down and conscientiously analyze which aspects of its economic plan have worked and which have not, or to seek alternatives and provide real solutions to the social problems that have been generated or heightened as a direct result of the plan's implementation, could end up triggering a crisis in the country. This is the view of Paulina Gamus, an AD congresswoman who chairs the Chamber of Deputies Internal Policy Commission.

The deputy analyzed the current situation, the conduct of the police corps, and the true causes of the conflicts, from her standpoint. The very committee that she chairs was assigned by the Congress last Thursday to conduct an investigation of the incidents that occurred in Macarao and at the Central University of Venezuela. On those occasions two students were killed by a member of the Metropolitan Police [PM] at a high school in the heavily populated district, and the national institution of higher learning was raided.

Nevertheless, Gamus is of the opinion that both the Congress and the Executive Branch should take more drastic action than designating, commissioning, or ordering investigations. At the same time, it seems to her to be "a great hypocrisy for the government to beg pardon and express condolences, when its only way of treating the expression of the people's aspirations and protest over what is happening to them has been the use of repression. They repress first, and ask forgiveness later."

Cases Accumulating

The Internal Policy Committee was involved in the investigation of police abuse and assaults in various Caracas districts by the PM, in reprisal for the deaths of members of that corps during student and resident demonstrations. On those occasions students were killed in Maracao, and other incidents occurred, prompting another investigation for which the committee has a 10-day period.

Its members have held several meetings with the governor of Caracas, the mayor, the Metropolitan Police commander, and student representatives. Next Wednesday the committee will receive the rector of the Central University of Venezuela, representatives from the Federation of University Centers, the principal of the Macarao high school which the slain youths were attending, and that institution's student representatives.

Deputy Gamus remarked that she had no doubt that, at the demonstration held by the younger groups, as in the case of the intermediate school students, there was participation by infiltrated adults, who attempted to disrupt the activity and provoke violence. At the same time, however, she thinks that the protest has just causes, and is widespread: "Residents are protesting for public services, against inflation and prices, and for transportation. Street vendors are protesting against merchants, and vice versa; and students are complaining of the state of their educational centers, the disregard for the half-fare agreement, and police repression. On the other hand, however, there are the police, with their educational level, their income level, and their own economic and social problems, facing a community that disdains them. This has caused them to be more aggressive and antagonistic toward the society that they are supposed to be serving."

In view of this situation, Gamus thinks that many things should be done, such as establishing dialogue between the community and the police, as Enrique Mendoza did in Petare, although it turns her stomach to have to admit it. There should also be regulations and strict control to prevent the police from using lethal weapons (including submachine guns) when they are controlling disturbances. They should be required to make use of deterrent equipment (let them use pressurized hoses, as is done in other countries).

Nevertheless, Paulina Gamus stresses that the time has come for the government to give up its obsession and lack of flexibility concerning its economic plan. It should sit down and really analyze what is working for it, because it is impossible to continue assuming the social cost being borne. This is necessary especially when the industrialized countries, where those formulas were devised, have already discarded these monetarist, neoliberal policies because of the serious failures and imbalances that they entail in the social area.

She observed: "From economists to bankers and figures in the financial world, they are discarding this type of

package, precisely because it is too severe for the population's social situation. This holds true even though it has had excellent immediate results with respect to reserves and economic growth figures. The country's financial status has improved notably, but not the people."

She then noted that there are cases in Latin America cited as examples of success. However, Gamus added that the system was implemented in Chile under a dictatorial regime, with the result that protest and demonstration were harshly repressed. Therefore, that country is not a valid reference. There is the case of Argentina, in particular, since it has halted the accelerated rise in its inflation rate. "It would be a good idea to invite the wizard of Argentine finances, its economy minister, to Venezuela."

According to Gamus, in the case of Venezuela there will be disturbances and demonstrations so long as the causes provoking them: namely, the population's problems, persist. In this case the government should stop resorting to so many formulas and figures, and start solving them for once and for all, especially the social problems.

* Politicians Propose Measures Against Violence

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in Spanish 23 Nov 91 p 25

[Article by Clodovaldo Hernandez]

[Text] Gustavo Tarre Briceno is demanding that the police remain far removed from demonstration routes; Walter Marquez is urging Perez to regulate the use of firearms during disturbances by decree; and Antonio Callaos is demanding action from the MTC [Ministry of Transport and Communications] against carriers failing to comply with the half fare for students.

Yesterday several congressmen submitted proposals to help clear the country's complex political and social atmosphere, beset by outbreaks of violence and excesses in the police corps' repressive action.

On the second consecutive day of truce in downtown Caracas, after several incidents involving disturbances, Deputies Gustavo Tarre Briceno, Walter Marquez, and Antonio Callaos made proposals to the government. They were aimed at preventing a continued wave of social upheaval, and regulating the public force's conduct in disruptions of order.

Tarre Briceno, chief of the COPEI [Social Christian Party] congressional faction, claimed that control should be imposed on the action of individuals from outside who infiltrate peaceful demonstrations so as to make them degenerate into violence. For this purpose, he suggested that the demonstrators themselves establish

services for security and to maintain order, in order to detect the presence of such persons.

He also proposed that the police authorities always remain a cautious distance from any demonstration, "because at times the mere police presence is a provocation." As an example of the positive results brought by the withdrawal of police corps, the deputy cited the peaceful, civil manner in which the burial of the victims of 20 November took place. He remarked: "For the most part, there was no violence at those ceremonies, because the police remained away from the procession route, without assuming aggressive stances."

Tarre Briceno described the conduct of the Metropolitan Police chiefs as positive. He also admitted that police officers have been the ones responsible for both the deaths of two students and that of a member of the military in Macarao, as well as for the virtual raiding of the Central University of Venezuela.

International Rules

Walter Marquez, an independent elected on the Movement Toward Socialism [MAS] ticket, for his part, called upon President Perez to issue a decree prohibiting the use of firearms at demonstrations. He emphasized: "The government should comply with the United Nations Organization's resolution of 14 December 1990, on the use of firearms and control of the public force at demonstrations."

In Marquez's view, it is unnecessary to amend the Law on Political Parties, Public Gatherings, and Demonstrations in order to achieve regulation in this area, because the president can do so through an executive order.

The deputy, displaying the photos that appeared in the newspapers on 21 November concerning the events of the previous day, remarked that the police and military forces operating during disturbances have used weapons meant for conventional warfare. He cautioned: "The police officers are being prosecuted, but the police and military high commands are jointly liable for the use of those weapons."

Confiscations and Lawsuits

Deputy Antonio Callaos, from the COPEI congressional group and a member of the Administration and Services Committee, stated that the Ministry of Transport and Communications should confiscate the badges of drivers who fail to comply with the student half-fare program, for which they are receiving a government subsidy. He commented: "The MTC should become a judicial accuser of those carriers, because collecting a subsidy and not providing service constitutes an act of illicit enrichment."

The deputy explained that the MTC has declared to the Congress that it paid 1.32 billion bolivares for that budget item as of October of this year.